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TITLE : The Oxford history of mus  
CLASS : O.-.OXF LOC: L  
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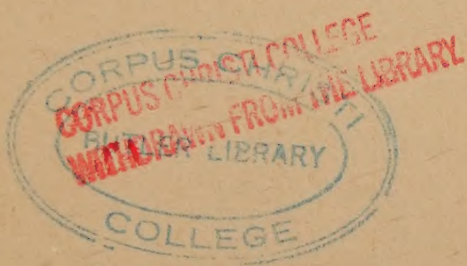


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THE OXFORD HISTORY OF MUSIC  
VOL. I

THE  
POLYPHONIC PERIOD OF MUSIC  
PART I





THE OXFORD  
HISTORY OF MUSIC  
VOL. I

THE POLYPHONIC PERIOD  
*PART I*  
METHOD OF MUSICAL ART  
330-1400

BY  
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*SECOND EDITION*

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LONDON

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS  
LONDON: HUMPHREY MILFORD

1929

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

AMEN HOUSE, E.C. 4

LONDON EDINBURGH GLASGOW

LEIPZIG NEW YORK TORONTO

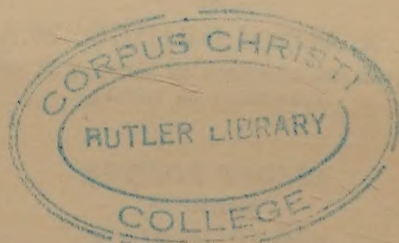
MELBOURNE CAPE TOWN BOMBAY

CALCUTTA MADRAS SHANGHAI

HUMPHREY MILFORD

PUBLISHER TO THE

UNIVERSITY



Printed in Great Britain



## EDITOR'S PREFACE

THE histories of music in current use have for the most part adopted a method which is frankly and ostensibly biographical. Their spirit has been largely that of the Saga or the Epic, rousing our admiration for the achievements of princes and heroes, but leaving us uninformed, and indeed unconcerned, as to the general government of the kingdom or the general fortunes of the host. Such a method has no doubt obvious advantages. It is human, it is interesting, it readily compels our attention, it wins from us a full acknowledgement of the debt that we owe to the great masters. But at the same time it is liable to two attendant dangers: first, that of ignoring the work done by lesser men; second, that of placing genius itself in a false perspective. The history of an art, like the history of a nation, is something more than a record of personal prowess and renown. Tendencies arise from small beginnings; they gather strength imperceptibly as they proceed; they develop, almost by natural growth, to important issues: and the great artist has commonly inherited a wealth of past tradition and effort which it is at once his glory and his privilege to administer.

More especially is this true of music, which among all the arts has exhibited the most continuous evolution. Over six centuries of work went to provide Palestrina with his medium; Purcell succeeded in the fullness of time to a long line of English ancestry; Bach, though he owed much to Pachelbel and Buxtehude, much to Vivaldi and Couperin, was under still greater obligation to that steady growth and progress which the spirit of German church music had

maintained since the days of Luther. Even those changes which appear the most violent in character—the Florentine Revolution, the rise of the Viennese School, the new paths of the Romantic movement—may all be rightly considered as parts of one comprehensive scheme: sometimes readjusting a balance that had fallen askew, sometimes recalling a form of expression that had been temporarily forgotten or neglected, never wholly breaking the design or striving at the impossible task of pure innovation.

To trace the outlines of this scheme is the main object of the present work. The biographical method, admirable in its way and within its limits, has been sufficiently followed elsewhere:—in histories, in monographs, in dictionaries and encyclopaedias of music. But these still leave room for a complementary treatise which shall deal with the art rather than the artist, which shall follow its progress through the interchanges of success and failure, of aspiration and attainment, which shall endeavour to illustrate from its peculiar conditions the truth of Emerson's profound saying that 'the greatest genius is the most indebted man.' In some cases the labour has proved difficult and obscure, partly from imperfection of the record, partly from extreme complexity of causal relations; at any rate the whole ground has been surveyed afresh, and the facts interpreted with as little as may be of prejudice or prepossession.

The work has been planned in six volumes. The first two, by Professor H. E. Wooldridge, deal with the music of the Mediaeval Church, one closing with the period of Discant, the other tracing the course of Modal Counterpoint up to the work of Palestrina and his successors: the third, by Sir C. H. H. Parry, follows the line of the early Monodic movement from its origin in Josquin and Arcadelt



to its culmination in Purcell: the fourth, by Mr. J. A. Fuller Maitland, deals especially with the music of Bach and Handel, and with the harmonic counterpoint which is peculiarly characteristic of their time: the fifth, by the Editor, narrates the rise and progress of the Viennese School, and carries from Haydn to Schubert the development of the great instrumental forms: the sixth, by Mr. E. Dannreuther, describes that phase of the art which is distinctively known as Romantic, and discusses the formative conditions which inspired Weber in the theatre, Schumann and Chopin in the concert-room. With the Romantic period it has been thought advisable to stop. The more recent aspects of musical art, though at least as well worth investigation as those of any preceding age, are yet too near us for complete and dispassionate judgement. With Brahms and Wagner, with Tchaikovsky and Dvořák and Richard Strauss, we are still liable to the faults of a hasty or ill-considered criticism, and must leave to a future generation the task of assigning them their place and explaining the tendencies through which alone they can be interpreted.

It is impossible in so brief an outline even to indicate all the topics of which we propose to treat. Questions of ethnology, questions of aesthetic, questions even of social convention and popular taste, meet the musical historian at every turn, and demand at any rate acknowledgement, and where possible an attempt at solution. Our object has been to account, so far as we are able, for the successive stages through which European music has passed since it became, to use an obvious analogy, a living language. The distribution of the work among different hands has been part of a settled policy, designed to secure for each period a treatment which shall be not only full but in a

special degree sympathetic. There are but few men who have sufficient breadth of view to deal equally with every type and phase of artistic utterance; of these few there are still fewer whose lives would suffice for the requisite investigation and research. Some of the facts have demanded journeys to remote parts of Europe, others have needed peculiar kinds of knowledge or experience, and though we may gladly admit that England contains writers who alone could have accomplished the whole, it has seemed advisable to aim at such efficiency as may be secured by a combination of labour.

There remain a few words to say on the particular scope and purport of the present volume. Starting from the recorded system of the Greek modes it finds the first germ of polyphony in the magadising practice described by Aristotle and Athenaeus, and traces the apparent modifications of the system to its adoption in the Latin Church. It thence proceeds to estimate the position and work of St. Ambrose, to compare the basis of the earliest Christian hymns and antiphons with that of their Greek originals, and to point out the inveterate error which still speaks of the Ecclesiastical modes as Gregorian. By this route it reaches its first resting-point in the distinction of authentic and plagal, and in the treatises, scientific rather than artistic, of Aurelian and of John Scotus Erigena. A new departure is taken with the introduction of Organum or Diaphony, first in the strict form of the *Musica Enchiriadis*, then with the greater freedom of Guido's *Micrologus*, and so through the alternations of theory and practice from the Winchester Troper to Cotto and Guy of Chalis. Next comes the introduction of measured music, and the establishment of a fixed and intelligible rhythm: tentatively in the



*Discantus Positio Vulgaris*, more firmly in Franco of Cologne, reaching a temporary climax with Walter Odington. From this the practice of Discant takes its origin, the early notation develops into a metrical scheme, and the art of music passes into a phase more consonant with modern principles and modern theories. A special part of the volume is devoted to rhythmic conventions, and particularly to the influence of rests or pauses in determining metrical rules, all of which bear an important part in rendering the material of music more flexible and more amenable to artistic treatment. The devices are still archaic and remote, the methods rudimentary, the results occasionally harsh and unfamiliar; but the germ of our metrical system is there, and needs but time and experience for its full development. The work of Jean de Garlande is rich in examples, and is supported by an anonymous treatise of the late thirteenth century, now in the British Museum.

With the period of Discant this volume comes to its close. Its later chapters are occupied with a description of the various types of composition current at the time:—the Cantilena and Rondel; the Motett; the Conductus, and the Organum purum. Of these forms some have been known by illustration, some by little more than the name alone, and it is a piece of conspicuous good fortune which has placed at Professor Wooldridge's disposal the MS. of a Notre Dame choir book, recently discovered in the Laurentian Library, which contains specimens of the church music in actual use at this period.

It is probably to the imperfection of the record that we may attribute the curious break which separates the method of Discant from that of Counterpoint properly so called. At any rate with the consummation of the former there

appears a natural interval which, in the course of the present work, is taken to separate the first volume from the second. In the former we are dealing with conditions so primitive as almost to justify the famous paradox that the true ancient history is mediaeval. In the latter we shall find artistic work which can still give the purest and noblest pleasure, and can win our admiration for consummate skill and complete achievement. Yet the age of Counterpoint would have been impossible without the age of Discant; and the tentative and uncertain steps, often misled, often baffled, were destined at last to find a way through which men should venture to the exploration and conquest of unknown regions. In the cause of art no true effort is wasted, and the greatest leader is not always he who enters the promised land.

W. H. HADOW.

1901.

## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

THE *Oxford History of Music*, which was published in 1901, consisted of six volumes, of which the first and second were written by the late Professor Wooldridge. It is now found necessary to issue a new edition of these two volumes, and it is but seemly, in the case of a scholar of such high standing, to explain why they are not merely reprinted in their original form.

The purpose of the *Oxford History* was to give, in reasonable perspective, the story of the whole growth of the Art of Music; and in the first two volumes that story was to be brought down to the great climax with which the sixteenth century closed. It has, however, been a common criticism of this first volume that, masterly as it admittedly is, it plunges too rapidly into those developments of European music which ultimately led to the great polyphonists. The story of music is a long one, and the texture of modern music is composed of strands which lead back to immemorial ages. And by the scholar, the student, and the amateur alike some account of these earlier stages, fuller than that offered by Professor Wooldridge, is now felt to be desirable.

It has been decided, therefore, to add to the *Oxford History* an Introductory Volume, now in the press, in which the work of the earlier pioneers in the Art of Music is dealt with by authoritative scholars. This new volume contains essays on Greek music, Jewish music, Plain-song, Treatises on music, Notation, Folk-song, Troubadors, Folk music, and other kindred subjects; thus covering in detail the ground of the first three chapters of the original



first volume. Professor Wooldridge's first chapter remains, in a curtailed form, as Chapter I of the present edition, but his second and third chapters being omitted, the chapter that comes second in this edition is the fourth chapter of the original book.

The endeavour has been made throughout to preserve intact, as far as possible, the results of Professor Wooldridge's scholarship in his own words. But certain small portions have been omitted (together with many examples, or portions of examples) and occasionally a small interpolation has been made, or a new example added, in order either to elucidate the text or to include results of a later research; and Chapter VI (now the fourth chapter) has been re-arranged, since students in general have always found the 'lay-out' of this chapter a little inconsequential and baffling. Further, in vol. ii Professor Wooldridge's accounts of the Spanish School (including Vittoria) and Palestrina have been revised and augmented by Mr. J. B. Trend and the Reverend Dom Anselm Hughes, O.S.B., respectively, and two new chapters have been added: *Instrumental Music*, by Mr. Gerald M. Cooper, and *Song*, by Mr. J. A. Westrup.

P. C. BUCK.

HARROW, 1928.

## AUTHOR'S PREFATORY NOTE

SINCE the Editor in his Preface has referred to my use of a MS., marked Plutarch 29. 1, in the Laurentian Library at Florence, a few words, explaining the exact nature and extent of the authority of this MS. so far as we understand it at present, may not be out of place here.

The MS., hitherto generally known as *Antiphonarium Mediceum*, consists of a large collection of vocal music, in two, three, and four parts, in a handwriting which throughout appears to be of the thirteenth century. It is of great importance, not only from the varied and representative character of its contents, which may be said to constitute it the most instructive and valuable record of its kind as yet discovered, but also from the fact, to which the Editor has referred, that the collection which it contains may be identified with a series, or part of a series, of six volumes, known to have formed a part of the musical library of Notre Dame of Paris in the middle of the thirteenth century; it displays, therefore, work performed in the very centre of the musical activity of the time during its most brilliant period. The identification has been effected by means of a comparison of the MS. with an account of the Notre Dame series given by the anonymous author of a treatise *De Mensuris et Discantu*, now in the British Museum (Royal MSS. 12. c. 6), who had apparently seen the six volumes in the cathedral library at Paris. The idea of this comparison first occurred to Dr. Wilhelm Meyer (of Speyer), Professor in Göttingen, who, in the course of an investigation of the Florence MS., connected chiefly with its poetical contents, was struck by the correspondence of the titles of certain pieces to those mentioned in the anonymous author's account of the Parisian collection. Professor Meyer published the results of his investigation in 1898, in a pamphlet entitled *Der Ursprung des Motett's*, and it is to a copy of this

work, which he himself kindly sent me, that I am indebted for my first knowledge of the facts.

The description of the Notre Dame collection, given by the anonymous author of the British Museum treatise, may here be quoted, together with so much of Professor Meyer's analysis of the Florence MS. as corresponds to it, in parallel form:—

Est quoddam volumen continens quadrupla, ut *Viderunt* et *Sederunt*, que composuit Perotinus magnus, in quibus continentur colores et pulchritudines. Pro maiori parte totius artis huius habeatis ipsa in usu cum quibusdam similibus, &c.

Est et aliud volumen de triplicibus maioribus magnis, ut *Alleluia Dies sanctificatus*, &c.; in quo continentur colores et pulchritudines cum abundantia, &c.

Tertium volumen est de conductis triplicibus, caudas habentibus, sicut *Salvatoris hodie*, et *Relegentur ab arca*, et similia, in quibus continentur puncta finalia organi in fine versuum, et in quibusdam non, quos bonus organista perfecte scire tenetur.

Est et aliud volumen de duplicibus conductis habentibus caudas, ut *Ave Maria antiquum*, in duplo, et *Pater noster commiserans*, vel *Hac in die rege nato*, in quo continentur

The first fascicle of the MS. Plutarch 29. 1, (fol. 1–13) contains a collection of four-voiced compositions, beginning with *Viderunt* and *Sederunt*.

The second fascicle (fol. 14 and onwards to fol. 65) contains three-voiced compositions, beginning with *Descendit de celis*, *Tanquam sponsus*, *Gloria*, *Alleluia Dies sanctificatus*, &c.

At folio 201 begins a collection of three-voiced compositions, extending through about 106 pages, and beginning with *Salvatoris hodie* and *Relegentur ab arca*.

At folio 263, and continuing through about 218 pages, is a collection of two-voiced compositions, in which *Ave Maria antiquum* is found at fol. 284, *Pater noster commiserans* at



nomina plurium conductorum, et similia.

fol. 278, and *Hac in die rege nato* at fol. 332. The text of this last composition is made up of the initial phrases of the conducts occurring between folios 263 and 313.

Est et quintum volumen de quadruplicibus et triplicibus et duplicibus sine cauda, quod solebat esse multum in usu inter minores cantores, et similia.

Est et sextum volumen de organo in duplo, ut *Iudea et Ierusalem*, et *Constantes*, &c.

Et plura alia volumina reperiuntur, sed in diversitatibus ordinationum cantus et melodie, sicut simplices conducti laici; et sunt millia alia plura de quibus omnibus in suis libris vel voluminibus plenius patet.

Beginning with the sixth fascicle of the MS., at folio 65, and continuing through about 238 pages, is a collection of two-voiced compositions, of which the first two are *Iudea et Ierusalem* and *Constantes estote*.

Elsewhere in his treatise the author of the British Museum MS. informs us that the first and second volumes of the collection described by him display the same form of composition as the sixth, that is to say the form known as *Organum purum*, while the third and fourth are said, in the account itself just given, to contain the examples of a form known as *Conductus*. Although these two forms are often referred to by the theorists of the thirteenth century, only a very few specimens of *Organum purum*, and none at all of *Conductus* have been hitherto known to exist; now, however, we see that in the Florence MS. we possess a great number of works in both forms, for two, three, and four voices. Whether the Florence MS. contains the whole, or only a part, of the collection described in the British

Museum MS., we cannot at present certainly say; Professor Meyer is of opinion that much more still remains to be discovered, and that especially in a MS. in the library of Wolfenbüttel (marked Helmstedt, 628) important portions of it are to be found. Also it is still doubtful whether the fascicles of which the Florence MS. is composed are actually portions of the Notre Dame choir books, or whether they are only contemporary copies of the originals; though, since the beauty of the MS. would seem to exclude the idea of a copy, we may perhaps fairly suppose that the Laurentian Library possesses the actual scores which were used by the Parisian singers.

The Florence MS. also contains much interesting music not described,—though perhaps included in his ‘*millia alia*’—by the author of the British Museum MS. Among these may be mentioned a collection of Motetts, remarkable for their early method of notation and for the strictness of their form, extracts from which will be found in their proper place in the present volume. For the identification of their tenors—as well as of others formerly printed by M. de Coussemaker—with passages of Plainsong, I am indebted to the learning and kindness of the Rev. W. H. Frere.

H. E. WOOLDRIDGE.

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## INTRODUCTION

### THE NATURE OF POLYPHONY

IN considering the development of the resources of pure sound, regarded as a material for artistic treatment, the phenomena may be seen as arranging themselves in three main divisions or periods, each representing a totally distinct phase of artistic activity in relation to the material and a different view of its capabilities.

The first period represents that phase in which the beauty to be obtained from the material is perceived only as consisting in certain arrangements of consecutive simple sounds ; the aim of the artist is single, and its outcome is the coherent individual utterance, or Melody. This was the music of the old Greeks and is still the music of all eastern people.

The second period is that in which the mind awakes to the possibility of a new beauty to be obtained by combining different individual utterances simultaneously ; and in this phase the aim of the artist is twofold, for he seeks to adjust the mutual relations of the separate melodies in such a manner as not only to elicit the full effect of their combination but to preserve at the same time a relative independence for each ; the outcome is a complete union, maintained upon the principle of an absolute equality, between the individual and the collective elements of the composition, and this is Polyphony.

The third, or strictly Harmonic period, the period in which we now are, represents the phase in which the principle of equality between the individual and the collective elements has been abandoned, and melody, even when apparently most free and self-developed, is entirely controlled by harmonic considerations.

Of these three periods that with which we are chiefly concerned is the second, the period of Polyphony. The gradual

development of the separate melodies and of the rules which govern their simultaneous employment, the growth of the artist's perception of the capabilities of his new material of combined sounds, of the special beauty which belongs to its nature, and of the degree in which scientific treatment may be effectively applied in it, the progress, in short, of contrapuntal Music from its rise onward to its first perfection and complete constitution as a Fine Art, is the subject indicated in our title.

In the beginning of our work a close connexion will be seen as existing between the Polyphonic and Melodic periods, since it was from the older system that Polyphony received the whole of its original technical means, a rational scale and a theory of the consonance and dissonance of its various intervals respectively; towards the close, on the other hand, the imminence of the Harmonic period will be perceived, and it will be necessary to point out that many of the later phenomena of Polyphony which appear as inconsistent and insubordinate are signs of its approach.

## CHAPTER I

### THE ORIGIN OF POLYPHONY

THE origin of Polyphony lies no doubt in the reduplication of the individual utterance or melody by mixed voices in the choral song. The effect of this reduplication would naturally be perceived as more agreeable than that of the singing of equal voices, and recognition of the double sound as the source of pleasure, demonstration of the real character of the interval, and conscious use of it as a form of art, might well be the first steps in the process of evolution.

The first sign of a direct advance towards Polyphony is to be found among the Greeks. They had taken note of the particular effect created by the simultaneous employment of the voices of men and children or of certain voices and instruments in the same melody, and already in Aristotle's time had given it the name of *Antiphony*, contrasting it with the less pleasing effect of equal voices or instruments of like pitch which they called *Homophony*; and they were moreover perfectly aware of its real nature as consisting in the consonance of the octave<sup>1</sup>. Furthermore, there seems to be evidence of some sort of conception of its use as an artistic form, for while the effect itself was defined as *antiphony* the practice of it received a special name and was called *magadizing*<sup>2</sup>. This name seems to imply something more than a fortuitous mixture of the voices of men and children, resulting in the con-

<sup>1</sup> 'Why is symphonous singing (antiphony) more agreeable than Homophony? Is it not because antiphony is the consonance of the octave? For antiphony is born of the voices of young boys and men whose tones are distant from each other as *nete* from *hypate*' (the highest and lowest notes of the octave scale). *Aristotelian Problems*, xix. 39.

<sup>2</sup> 'The consonance of the octave is often magadized.' *Arist. Prob.* xix. 39.

sonance of the octave, and suggests a conscious process with an aesthetic purpose; the *magadis* was a harp-like instrument of many strings which would admit of the reduplication of a melody<sup>1</sup>, and we may perhaps suppose that the effect of the natural unconscious mingling of voices in chorus being often imitated upon the *magadis* by the deliberate artifice of striking each note of the melody in octaves<sup>2</sup>, vocal antiphony became at length in turn a conscious process taking its name from the instrumental imitation. Be this, however, as it may, the essential fact of the employment by the Greeks of the octave progression under the name of *magadizing* is certain, and that it was consciously employed as a distinct means of aesthetic pleasure is probable.

Homophony, the consonance of the unison, could hardly have been supposed to offer the material for a separate form, since in unison the voices are indistinguishable. Yet the Greeks evidently conceived of consonance, suitable for simultaneous singing, as something so smooth as to render the distinction between the voices only very slightly perceptible, and it is no doubt for this reason that in Aristotle's time, as we learn from the *Problems*, the consonances of the fourth and fifth, in which the distinction is very obvious, were not sung simultaneously. Antiphony, in which the fact of difference is perceptible while the consonance is as smooth as unison, alone provided a suitable medium for the *magadizing* process<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Ellis (Helmholtz, *Sensations of Tone*, ed. 1895, p. 237) says that the strings of this instrument were divided by a bridge at one-third of their length. And in the later theorists the little bridges which were used for the division of the monochord were often called *magades*.

<sup>2</sup> 'Pindar, in his scolion to Hiero, describes the sound of the *magadis* as responsive, because it gives a concord, at the octave, of two kinds of tone, namely those of men and boys.'—*Athenaeus*, xiv. 36. From this passage we also gather that the recognition of the concord of the octave was as old as Pindar, i.e. circ. 522 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> 'Why is the consonance of the octave the only one which is sung? for in fact this consonance is *magadized*, but not the others. Is it not



Thus it will be seen that the Greek practice with respect to the employment of mixed voices which is here described, though important from our present point of view, does not really depart from the essentially melodic principles of the period to which it belongs ; for it is clear that the especial suitability of the octave progression for its purpose consisted in the fact that in it the obviously different voices were in effect singing the same note, and it is evident also that the idea that voices could be permitted to sing obviously different notes simultaneously, even though those notes might be technically consonant, was not entertained. The Greeks, therefore, who employed and defined antiphony had not formed even the slightest conception of polyphonic music in its true sense ; yet inasmuch as the essential principle of that music, the equal union of the individual and collective elements, is actually present in antiphony, we may say that the rudimentary form of art which, as we have seen, was known as *magadizing* was in fact the first parent of Polyphony.

[The concluding portion of this chapter together with Chapters II. and III. of the former edition are omitted (see note at the beginning of this book). They dealt exclusively with the importance of Greek music in preparing the ground for the *Organum* or *Diaphony* which was the parent of Polyphony.—P. C. B.]

because this consonance alone is antiphonous ? For in the antiphones, when one of the two notes is sung the same effect is produced as in the case of the other, so that a single sound of this consonance being sung the entire consonance is sung ; and when the two sounds are sung, or if one is taken by the voice and the other by the flute, the same effect is produced as if one were given alone. This is why this consonance is the only one which is sung, because the antiphones have the sound of a single note.' *Arist. Prob.* xix. 18.

## CHAPTER IV

### ORGANUM OR DIAPHONY

WE may of course suppose that the Greek practice of magadizing, in which as we have seen lay the fundamental principle of Polyphony, was continued in the Latin Church, and that the simultaneous utterance of the melody by the voices of boys and men was recognized by the Italians, as by the Greeks, as a distinct musical effect, arising from a series of repetitions of the consonance of the octave. But no advance apparently beyond the Greek position with regard to this practice was made during the earlier period of the history of the Church, and we look in vain, in the treatises upon music by Christian writers down to the seventh century, for any clear proof of the definite acceptance of magadizing as an artistic means, or for any acknowledgement of the change of principle, the transfer of the idea of consonance from melody to harmony, which is actually involved in its adoption. It was no doubt during the two centuries which followed, centuries sterile in respect of literary production but fruitful and significant with regard to music, that these necessary first steps forward in the direction of Polyphony were made, for in the earliest treatises written after the reawakening of literary effort, towards the close of the ninth century, we find distinct reference to a form of art called *organizing*, which consisted in the singing of concords by concurrent voices, and also a definition of consonance revealing for the first time that view of its nature in which it is seen as existing not between intervals but between simultaneous sounds <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The utterances of some of the ninth-century writers, however, such as Aurelian of Réomé and Remy of Auxerre (though these are quoted by M. de Coussemaker in his *Histoire de l'Harmonie au Moyen Âge* as making mention of simultaneous singing of concords), leave us in considerable doubt, owing to the ambiguity of their language, with respect to their recognition of music of more than one voice. When for instance Aurelian says, 'In harmonica (musica) quidem consideratio manet sonorum, uti scilicet graves soni acutis congruenter copulati compagem efficiant

It would appear, therefore, that the practice of symphonious singing and playing, called organizing, which probably at this time prevailed both within and without the Church, was now no longer regarded by the theorists with indifference as an accident or pleasant trick of performance, but was beginning to engage their serious attention and to reveal some glimpses of the important principles contained in it. No formal recognition of its methods, however, seems to have been accorded

vocum,' or Remy, 'Harmonia est consonantia et coadunatio vocum,' both may well be following older writers, both Greek and Latin, who use the word *Harmonia* in a general sense, or, if specially, to denote melody. *Vox* also, in the older writers signifies the note, and allusions to the mutual adaptation, mixture and blending of notes in one whole would in their works refer to the construction of songs for a single voice. In the absence therefore of further definition, which is not supplied, the intention of Aurelian and Remy is not clear. But Regino (Abbot of Prüm in 892) leaves us in no doubt as to his meaning, and, though he makes no mention of special forms of simultaneous singing of concords, defines consonance and dissonance, from the polyphonic point of view, in an extremely clear and interesting manner, thus :—'Diffinitur autem ita consonantia ; consonantia est dissimilium inter se vocum in unum redacta concordia. Aliter ; consonantia est acuti soni gravisque mistura, suaviter uniformiterque auribus accidens. Et contra dissonantia est duorum sonorum sibi permistorum ad aurem veniens aspera atque iniucunda percussio. Consonantiam vero licet aurium sensus diiudicet, ratio tamen perpendit. Quotiens enim duae chordae intenduntur, et una ex his gravius, altera acutius resonat, simulque pulsae reddunt permixtum quodammodo et suavem sonum, duaeque voces in unum quasi coniunctae coalescunt, tunc fit ea quod dicitur consonantia. Cum vero simul pulsus sibi quisque contraire nititur, nec permiscet ad aurem suavem atque unum ex duobus compositum sonum, tunc est quae dicitur dissonantia.' *De Harmonica Institutione*, 10.

Hucbald (monk of St. Amand, born about 840) is even more explicit :—'Aliud enim est consonantia, aliud intervallum. Consonantia siquidem est duorum sonorum rata et concordabilis permixtio, quae non aliter constabit nisi duo altrinsecus editi soni in unam simul modulationem conveniant, ut fit cum virilis ac puerilis vox pariter sonuerint, vel etiam in eo quod consuecte organisationem vocant.' *De Harmonica Institutione*.

It is worthy of remark that the name here given by the Frankish writer to the practice of symphonious singing is, like that given to it by the old Greeks, an adaptation of the name of the instrument upon which it might be imitated or accompanied.

until the end of the following century, when a writer, supposed to be Otger or Odo, abbot of St. Pons de Tomières in Provence, in a treatise called *Musica Enchiriadis* (at one time ascribed to Hucbald of St. Amand), frankly accepts the whole system in its existing state as a part of music, and presents it in the form of a completely regulated procedure. A commentary upon this work, of similar date, called *Scholia Enchiriadis*, exhibits much of the same material in the form of a dialogue between master and pupil, in simpler style and with more numerous examples.

From these sources we discover that the advance in the direction of Polyphony which at this time had already been effected by practical musicians was even greater than might have been supposed ; for not only is it evident that in addition to the old magadized octave the consonances of the fourth and fifth were now sung in parallel movement, both simply in two parts and in various combinations of three and four voices, but it appears that a new and more complex kind of symphonious performance, in which concord is mingled with discord, and in which the organizing voices may almost be said to display a certain measure of independence, was also in use.

Moreover, the view of consonance in which it is seen as existing rather between simultaneous than consecutive sounds is now firmly established and developed ; the consonances are described under the name of symphonies ; and the origin both of the new view of them and of their new designation is traced to the practice of symphonious singing, which is called *Organum* or *Diaphony*.

Attempts have often been made, and indeed even quite recently, to establish a real distinction between the things signified by these two names ; and this attempt has generally been directed towards an expression of the difference existing between that kind of music which was composed entirely of similar concords and that which admitted the presence of dis-



similar concords and the union of concord with discord, and sometimes one and sometimes the other has been called either Organum or Diaphony ; but it must be said that in the works of the old writers, from whom alone our knowledge of the subject is derived, no such distinction is to be observed ; indeed, these authors are always most careful, as if in fear of misapprehension, to insist upon the fact that both names signify the same thing, and that they are in fact nothing more than alternative appellations of the music, of whatever kind, which consisted in the symphonious utterance of separate voices<sup>1</sup>. And indeed, for the contemporary musician, the difference between the two kinds of music then prevailing was in no respect significant or suggestive of distinct names, the one kind arising naturally out of the other ; nor does it appear that at its first invention the freer sort was considered as in any way intrinsically better or more agreeable to the ear than its parent. For us, however, and from our present point of view, a difference of the most vital kind is easily perceived ; for while the strict kind of Organum or Diaphony is evidently no more than a logical extension of the ancient practice of magadizing, in which the individual element of Polyphony was overpowered by the collective element and sacrificed to it, in the

<sup>1</sup> ‘ Nunc id quo proprie symphoniae dicuntur et sunt, id est qualiter eadem voces sese invicem canendo habeant, prosequamur. Haec namque est quam Diaphoniam cantilenam, vel assuete Organum, vocamus.’ —*Musica Enchiriadis*, cap. xiii. ‘ Diaphonia vocum disiunctio sonat, quam nos Organum vocamus, cum disiunctae ab invicem voces et concorditer dissonant, et dissonantes concordant.’—Guido Aretinus, *Micrologus*, cap. xviii. ‘ Est ergo Diaphonia congrua vocum dissonantia, quae ad minus per duos cantantes agitur : ita scilicet, ut altero rectam modulationem tenente, alter per alienos sonos apte circueat, et in singulis respirationibus ambo in eadem voce, vel per diapason conveniant. Qui canendi modus vulgariter Organum dicitur, eo quod vox humana apte dissonans similitudinem exprimat instrumenti quod Organum vocatur. Interpretatur autem Diaphonia dualis vox vel dissonantia.’—Iohannes Cotto, *Musica*, cap. xxiii. *Dissonans*, it should be mentioned, in these writers signifies nothing more than dissimilar in sound.

freer kind the individual element at length receives recognition, if not an opportunity for development.

The consonances or symphonies upon which the whole system depended were six in number; three simple, the Octave, Fifth, and Fourth, and three composite, the double Octave, the Octave with the Fifth, and the Octave with the Fourth. Corresponding to these two kinds of symphonies or consonances the strict Organum or Diaphony was also of two kinds; simple, or consisting of the simple consonance sung by two voices, and composite, in which one or both voices were doubled at various intervals, thus creating composite consonances and different combinations of voices.

These methods may best be illustrated by examples taken from the *Musica Enchiriadis* and the *Scholia Enchiriadis*.

It may perhaps be assumed that the parallel movement of the simple consonances and of the double octave needs no separate exhibition, and we may proceed at once to consider an example of the composite Diaphony of the Fifth. Here it is to be observed that the simple consonance first uttered by the *vox principalis*, singing the melody or subject, and the *vox organalis*, singing the accompaniment in the fifth below in parallel movement with the subject, is embellished in two ways; the *vox principalis* is doubled at the octave below, and the *vox organalis* at the octave above, thus at once giving rise to three new intervals, namely, the octave and the fourth, which are now heard advancing in parallel movement both above and below the original fifth, and the octave with the fourth, which is perceived as existing between the extreme voices. It is of course obvious that had an organum of three parts been desired one only of the original voices would have been doubled, and the octave would then have been the limiting interval of the composition; this will be evident from the arrangement of the brackets in our illustration.

THE FIFTH, COMPOSITE.

*Vox organalis doubled at the 5ve above. (Mus. Enchiriadis.)*

Sit glo - ri - a Do - mi - ni in sae - cu - la

*Vox principalis.*

Sit glo - ri - a Do - mi - ni in sae - cu - la

*Vox organalis.*

Sit glo - ri - a Do - mi - ni in sae - cu - la

*Vox principalis doubled at the 5ve below.*

Sit glo - ri - a Do - mi - ni in sae - cu - la

THE FIFTH, SIMPLE.

In the case of the composite Diaphony of the Fourth the doubling of the two original voices at the Octave gives the consonances of the Fifth and Octave above and below the simple Diaphony, the Octave with the Fifth being now perceived between the extreme parts.

THE FOURTH, COMPOSITE.

*Vox organalis doubled at the 8ve above. (Mus. Enchiriadis.)*

Tu pa - tris sem - pi - ter - nus es fi - li - us.

*Vox principalis.*

Tu pa - tris sem - pi - ter - nus es fi - li - us.

*Vox organalis.*

Tu pa - tris sem - pi - ter - nus es fi - li - us.

*Vox principalis doubled at the 8ve below.*

Tu pa - tris sem - pi - ter - nus es fi - li - us.

THE FOURTH, SIMPLE.

A question of considerable importance is raised by this example. It will be observed that, as a result of the regular movement of the Diaphony of Diatessaron, the discordant interval of the Tritone Fourth is twice heard, sung between the two original voices, and it will also be obvious that the interval of the Imperfect Fifth, although it did not occur in our previous example, must be of equally possible occurrence in the Diaphony of Diapente, for in that method F in the upper voice must be accompanied by B♭ in the lower as certainly as B♭ in the upper voice must in the Diaphony of Diatessaron be accompanied by F in the lower. What then at this time, it may be asked, was the method of dealing in performance with these two intervals? Were they sung as they are written, or were they made perfect by the substitution of B♮ for B♭, or was the phrase containing them altered in some other manner?

With regard to the treatment of the discord of the Imperfect Fifth, it may be answered, we are without distinct information; the treatises from which we derive our knowledge of Organum or Diaphony do not clearly refer to the use of this interval or to any difficulty which might be said to arise from its occurrence between two voices; indeed, we are told on the other hand not only that the Diaphony of Diapente was heard with pleasure<sup>1</sup>, but that it was regarded, from the point of view of continuous consonance, as only second in perfection to the symphony of the octave itself<sup>2</sup>. With regard to the treatment of the Tritone Fourth, however, we are not left in doubt, except indeed with respect to the consistency of the author of the *Enchiriadis*; for although in chap. xiv. of his work he has

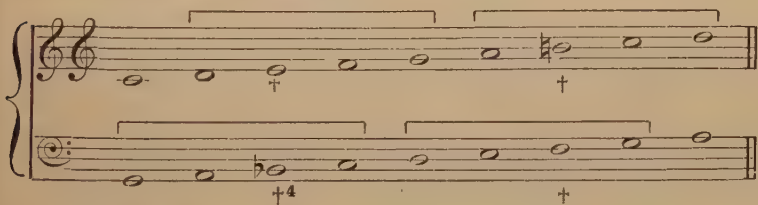
<sup>1</sup> 'Hisque rationibus hae duae symphoniae (the doubled diaphonies of the composite form) varias miscent dulcesque cantilenas.' *Mus. Enchiriadis*, cap. xiv.

<sup>2</sup> 'Igitur absolutissime in diapason symphonia maiore prae caeteris perfectione diversae ad invicem voces resonant. Secunda ab hac est symphonia diapente.' *Ibid.*, cap. xvii.



said of our example of the Fourth composite that the voices will be perceived as sounding agreeably together <sup>1</sup>, in chap. xvii. we are told that the symphony of Diatessaron, regarded from the point of view of continuous consonance, is, on account of the Tritone (which as we have seen occurs in our example), so defective as to be often quite unsuitable for Diaphony, without alteration. In this point of view the Tritone, which may occur in all scales, is realized as discordant and impossible, and its avoidance is regarded as a necessity. Accordingly we find that when in the Diaphony of Diatessaron the regular movement of the *vox organalis* would give rise to the interval of the Tritone, regular movement is abandoned, and an alternative method adopted <sup>2</sup>.

This alternative method was based upon the facts which were understood as governing the existence of the Tritone. For the writers of this period the interval arose out of the conjunction of the minor third of one tetrachord with the major second of another <sup>3</sup>, thus :—



<sup>1</sup> 'Senties huiusmodi proportionum voces suaviter ad invicem resonare.' Ibid., cap. xiv.

<sup>2</sup> 'At in diatessaron, quoniam non per omnem sonorum seriem quartis locis suaviter sibi phthongi concordant, ideo nec absolute ut in caeteris symphonica editur cantilena. Ergo in hoc genere cantionis sua quadam lege vocibus voces divinitus accommodantur.' Ibid., cap. xvii.

<sup>3</sup> 'Per omnem enim sonorum seriem tritus subquartus (the third sound of the lower tetrachord) deuterio (the second sound of the tetrachord next above) solus a symphonia deficit, et inconsonus ei efficitur, eo quod solus diatessaron symphoniae mensuram excedens, tribus integris tonis a praefato sono elongatur, cui extat subquartus.' *Mus. Enchiridiadis*, cap. xvii.

<sup>4</sup> It will be remembered that in the lowest tetrachord of the Graeco-Syrian scale, apparently still in use at this time, the B was flat; in the Greek scale it was natural.

The *vox organalis*, therefore, can never go below the fourth sound of the lower tetrachord. In those cases in which the *vox principalis* begins in such a manner that the *vox organalis* cannot accompany at the Fourth without passing below this fourth sound, then the *vox organalis* must begin upon the same note as the *principalis* and hold it until it is possible to follow the *principalis* at the Fourth; and in the same way the *organalis* must also close in unison when the close of the *principalis* will not admit of an accompaniment at the Fourth<sup>1</sup>.

The method is well shown in the following example :—

FREE ORGANUM ; THE FOURTH, SIMPLE.

*Vox principalis.* (*Mus. Enchiriadis.*)

Rex coe - li Do - mi - ne ma - ris un - di - so - ni

*Vox organalis.*

Rex coe - li Do - mi - ne ma - ris un - di - so - ni<sup>2</sup>

Ti - ta - nis ni - ti - di squa - li - di - que so - li

Ti - ta - nis ni - ti - di squa - li - di - que so - li

<sup>1</sup> 'Quapropter et vox, quae organalis dicitur, vocem alteram, quae vocatur principalis, eo modo comitari solet, ut in quolibet tetrachordo in qualibet particula (line, verse, or division of the song), nec infra tetrardum sonum descendat positione, nec inchoatione levetur, obstante triti soni inconsonantia, qui tetrardo est subsecundus.' *Mus. Enchiriadis*, cap. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> 'Ad hanc descriptionem canendo facile sentitur, quomodo in descriptis duobus membris (*Rex coeli*, &c., et *Titanis nitidi*, &c.), sicut subtus C tetrardum sonum, organalis vox responsum incipere non potest, ita subtus eundem non valet positione progredi, et ob hoc in finalitate positionum a voce principali occupetur, ut ambae in unum conveniant, quod modo altiora, modo summissiora loca, organum petat.' *Ibid.*, cap. xvii.

Te hu-mi-les fa-mu-li mo-du-lis ve-ne-ran-do pi-is

Te hu-mi-les fa-mu-li mo-du-lis ve-ne-ran-do pi-is

Se iu-be-as fla-gi-tant va-ri-is li-be-ra-re ma-lis.

Se iu-be-as fla-gi-tant va-ri-is li-be-ra-re ma-lis.

It may be observed that sometimes, as an alternative method, the lower voice takes the major third or the perfect fifth to the  $B\flat$ , as here, at the words *famuli*, *flagitant*, *modulis*, and *variis*.

In addition to the foregoing example the author gives, as a further illustration of the influence of the Tritone upon the Diaphony of Diatessaron, a number of transpositions of the chant-fragment *Tu Patris*, &c., as follows :—

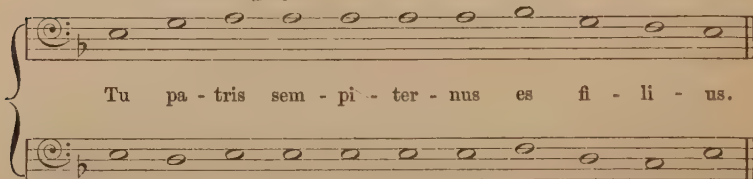
TONUS PROTUS.

Tu pa-tris sem-pi-ter-nus es fi-li-us.

<sup>1</sup> 'Quemadmodum in binis prioribus membris, primae tres syllabae, quae sonant tetrardum C, archoum D, deuterum E, responsum organale sub tetrardo non habent, videlicet propter deuteri soni inconsonantiam ad sonum tritum, qui tetrardo est subsecundus ; sic et in sequentibus his commatibus (*Te humiles*, &c., et *Se iubeas*, &c.), dum excelsioris exstent levationis ac positionis, celsiori quoque loco, eadem lege et organum coarctatur. Similiter enim in tribus principalibus sonis, tetrardo G, archoo A, deuterio B, vox organalis rite sub tetrardo respondere nequit, sed moram in eodem agit, dum in subsecundo eius ratum responsum non invenit.' Ibid., cap. xviii.

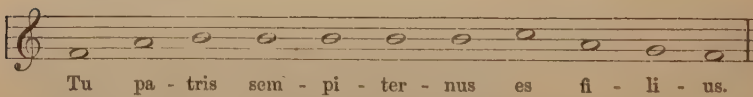
With respect to this example it is pointed out that, although a consonant opening is possible, a corresponding treatment of the close is out of the question, owing to the occurrence of E in the melody, to which the organal response is B $\flat$ .

TONUS DEUTERUS (*plagalus*).



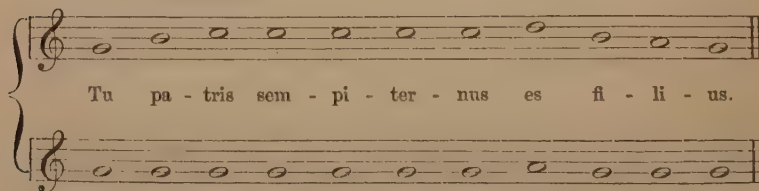
Here is shown the proper treatment of the organal response, which cannot proceed regularly either at the opening or at the close.

TONUS TRITUS.



In this mode, we are told, no organal response is possible, probably because of the occurrence of the Tritone between the reciting note of the melody and an accompaniment in the fourth below.

TONUS TETRARDUS.



Here the response cannot conveniently descend at all into its proper region, the second note in the opening and the last note but one before the close involving the discordance of the Tritone if strictly accompanied. The proper treatment is shown.

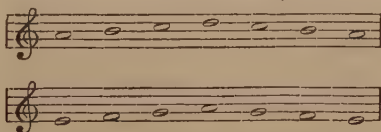
Such then are the views of the author of *Musica Enchiriadis* with respect to the symphony of Diatessaron and to the manner



of dealing with the false interval of the Tritone which is peculiar to it. He recognizes the discordance of the Tritone as the cause of a distinct inferiority in the symphony of Diatessaron as compared with those of Diapente and Diapason, and he lays down the rules of a method which avoids the use of the offending interval.

It is worthy of remark that the author of the commentary called *Scholia Enchiriadis*, while also recognizing the inferiority of the symphony of Diatessaron from the point of view of parallel singing, and adopting the rules already given for the treatment of Diaphony in that interval, assigns a different reason for the freedom of the *vox organalis*. He makes no mention of the Tritone, but on the other hand draws our attention to the fact that whereas in the symphony of Diapason both voices are singing absolutely in the same mode and in the symphony of Diapente almost absolutely so, in that of Diatessaron the difference of mode is obvious and unmistakable ; and we learn that it is the impropriety of this combination of two different modes or species of the scale, throughout the whole of a composition, which in his view gives rise to the necessity for a free treatment <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> ‘*Discipulus*. Quare in Diatessaron symphonia vox organalis sic absolute convenire cum voce principali non potest, sicut in symphoniis aliis ? *Magister*. Quoniam, ut dictum est, per quartanas regiones non iidem tropi reperiuntur, diversorumque troporum modi per totum simul ire nequeunt, ideo in diatessaron symphonia non per totum vox principalis voxque organalis quartana regione consentiunt. *Discipulus*. Vellem quoque dinoscere, quomodo per quartana loca troporum sit genus dissimile ? *Magister*. Facile id senties ; sive enim uno tono altius transponatur, seu quarto loco inferius, modus diversi tropi aperto auditu fit discernibilis. Canatur ad infra scriptum modum :—



‘*Discipulus*. Discerno plane, tonum autentum protum in autentum deuterum hanc transpositione transire.’ *Scholia Enchiriadis*.

It would appear from this treatise that when strictly parallel fourths are given in the contemporary works as examples of the composite Diaphony of Diatessaron they must be considered either as merely theoretical or as representing a method which was already passing out of use, for in the combinations exhibited in the author's own illustrations of the treatment of this interval the *vox organalis* is always, and its reduplication often, free; this will be evident from the following selected specimens:—

## THE FOURTH, SIMPLE.

*Vox principalis.* (Scholia Enchiriadis.)

*Vox organalis.*

The following example is especially interesting, since it contains, if the notes given are correct, an alteration not only in the *vox organalis*, but in the reduplication of the *principalis* also:—

## THE FOURTH, COMPOSITE.

*Vox principalis.* (Scholia Enchiriadis.)

*Vox organalis.*

*Vox principalis doubled at the 8ve below.*

\* Thus in Gerbert. It seems probable that this is a mistake, and that the passage should repeat the upper *principalis* exactly.

## THE FOURTH, COMPOSITE.

*Vox principalis doubled at the 8ve.**(Scholia Enchiriadis.)*<sup>1</sup>

ex hoc nunc et us - que in sae - cu - lum.

*Vox organalis doubled at the 8ve.*

ex hoc nunc et us - que in sae - cu - lum.

*Vox principalis.*

ex hoc nunc et us - que in sae - cu - lum.

*Vox organalis.*

ex hoc nunc et us - que in sae - cu - lum.

The date at which the free kind of Organum was first developed from the strict is of course unknown, but its method, arising as it does out of inconveniences due entirely to the nature of the scale, may very well be of almost equal age with that of the purely parallel movement. Indeed, if the difficult passage so often quoted from the *Divisio Naturae* of Scotus

<sup>1</sup> It has hitherto been generally supposed that the free Organum was entirely confined to the simple or two-voiced form, and that the treatment of the composite forms was strictly parallel; even M. Gevaert, in the chapter upon Organum and Diaphony included as an appendix in his *Mélopée Antique, &c.*, 1895 (in which he also attempts to assign a different signification to each of these terms), seems to countenance the notion in his definitions:—‘*ORGANUM proprement dit, une harmonie à deux voix, composée d’intervalles simultanés divers; LA DIAPHONIE à deux trois ou quatre voix formée d’une succession de consonances identiques.*’ The origin of this curious error is probably to be found in M. de Coussemaker’s *Memoire sur Hucbald*, Paris, 1841, in which he has wrongly translated the examples just given above in the text, *exhibiting them as strictly parallel throughout*. Neither the examples themselves as given in the original treatise, nor the old writer’s careful description of which they are illustrations, present any difficulty whatever; we can therefore only suppose that in dealing with this part of the subject, M. de Coussemaker, having read his author with less attention than usual, assumed

Erigena <sup>1</sup> can be supposed to throw light upon the subject, it would seem that the free Organum of the Fourth may already have been in existence about the middle of the ninth century, that is to say, about one hundred and fifty years before the probable date of the *Enchiriadis*; for the writer's description of the alternate separation and coming together of the voices quite admits of application to this method. Apart from this doubtful passage, however, there seems to be no actual reference to the free Organum until the period at which we have now arrived, when it was described as a part of the general account of Organum in the treatises which have just been considered.

Two other works of this date ought to be mentioned—a MS. now in the Cathedral Library at Cologne <sup>2</sup>, and another which in some MSS. of the *Enchiriadis*—that of Paris, for instance—takes the place of the chapters xiii. to xviii. which were printed in the editions of Gerbert and de Coussemaker <sup>3</sup>. In these works the free Organum of the Fourth is chiefly discussed, and by the author of the Paris MS. the organizing of the Fifth is not allowed; in most respects, however, they

that the parallelism of the Organum of the Octave and Fifth, which is in fact strict, was continued in that of the Fourth, and that he thus wrote mechanically, without reference to the text of the *Scholia*, examples which he unfortunately declares to be those actually given as illustrations in that work. These misleading examples of the *Memoire sur Hucbald* were reproduced without alteration by M. de Coussemaker in his *Hucbald et ses Traités*, Paris, 1845 (?), and again in his very important *Histoire de l'Harmonie au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 1852, which has ever since been universally accepted, and upon the whole with good reason, as the highest authority upon its subject.

<sup>1</sup> *Organicum melos ex diversis qualitativibus et quantitativibus conficitur dum viritim separatimque sentiuntur voces longe a se discrepantibus intensionis et remissionis proportionibus segregatae dum vero sibi invicem coaptantur secundum certas rationabilesque artis musicae regulas per singulos tropos naturalem quandam dulcedinem reddentibus.*

<sup>2</sup> See *Hucbald's Echte und unechte Schriften*, &c., by Hans Müller, 1884.

<sup>3</sup> *Cousse. Script.* ii, 74.



conform so closely to the treatises which we have examined that it has not been thought necessary to describe them.

The next account which we possess of the methods of Organum or Diaphony is contained in the *Micrologus* of Guido of Arezzo, written about one hundred years later than the *Scholia Enchiriadis*, during the first half, that is to say, of the eleventh century. In the system described in this work no very great progress beyond the former one is apparent. We may note, for instance, that the old strict forms of composite Diaphony were evidently still held in some esteem, for Guido mentions three as in use in his time, and these appear from his description and from a single example to be the well-known forms of the strict Diaphony of Diatessaron for three voices ; moreover, it would seem that musicians were not confined to these three forms, or at all events not in theory, for Guido adds that the reduplications of the simple Diaphony may in all cases be carried out to the full extent of the possibilities of the material <sup>1</sup>.

But although the strict Diaphony was still at this time in use, it is clear that both by Guido and by others it was considered as antiquated, and that the free kind was altogether preferred. This preference marks the advance, real though small, which had been made during the century which had elapsed since the time of Otger ; for while formerly musicians had perceived in the freedom of Diaphony only the advantages for the sake of which it had been invented, means, that is to say, of avoiding certain inconsonances and inconveniences, they were now inclined to see in it distinct intrinsic merits, and definitely preferred it for its own sake <sup>2</sup> ; so that its rules

<sup>1</sup> ' Potes et cantum cum organo et organum cum cantu, quantum libuerit, duplicare per diapason ; ubicumque enim eius concordia fuerit, dicta symphoniarum aptatio non cessabit.' *Micrologus*, cap. xviii.

<sup>2</sup> ' Superior nempe diaphoniae modus durus est, noster vero mollis.' Ibid.

were now no longer merely sufficient for the avoidance of the Tritone or of the parallelism of two different modes, but were also, though very tentatively, directed towards the production of a series of combined sounds, not necessarily concords, of which the ear might approve and of which apparently it was to be the principal judge.

With respect to the number of voices employed at this time in the newer or free kind of Diaphony, it may be said that although the very concise directions given by Guido refer entirely to the conduct of the organal voice, and the examples are in two parts only, nothing prevents the supposition that the doubling of parts at the octave was practised in this as well as in the strict or parallel form ; Guido nowhere forbids it, and indeed the manner, for instance, in which he passes from the discussion of the strict Diaphony to consider the freer kind seems almost to imply that the two were by no means totally distinct. ' Having now,' he says in effect, ' sufficiently explained the duplication of the voices, we may treat more particularly of our method of dealing with the lower (or organal) voice <sup>1</sup>.'

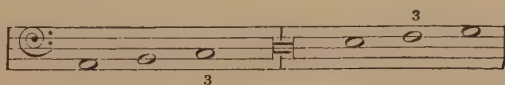
The symphony of the Fourth is still the foundation of the free Diaphony, and it now moreover constitutes the extreme limit of separation between the voices <sup>2</sup>, for the perfect fifth which we have seen in the older music is no longer allowed. The remaining intervals, both those which were used and those which were neglected, are the same as before, but a change of considerable importance in the point of view from

<sup>1</sup> ' Cum itaque iam satis vocum patefacta sit duplicatio, gravem a canente succentum, more quo nos utimur, explicemus.' *Micrologus*, cap. xviii. The expression ' more quo nos utimur,' and also another already quoted, ' *noster* vero mollis,' may refer either to the modern as opposed to the ancient practice, or to the Italian as distinguished from the Northern or Frankish methods of organizing.

<sup>2</sup> ' Cum plus diatessaron seiungi non liceat, opus est, cum plus se cantor intenderit, subsecutor ascendat, ut videlicet *C* sequatur *F*, et *D* sequatur *G*, et *E* sequatur *a*, et reliqua.' *Micrologus*, cap. xviii.

which they are to be considered has taken place ; for whereas formerly they were unnamed and regarded as chance juxtapositions of the voices due to the conduct of the lower voice in obedience to a certain rule, they are now seen in their true character and receive their proper appellations ; their points of difference moreover are studied, and they become to some extent the subject of choice <sup>1</sup>.

Nevertheless the actual existence of these intervals is still due, as before, to the observance by the lower voice of that rule of practice which forbids its descent below a certain note of the tetrachord governing the melody or any particular section of it which may be in question. It will be remembered that the notes indicated by this rule in the time of Otger were G in the upper tetrachord and C in the lower, and that they were then the *fourth* sounds of their respective tetrachords. The system of tetrachords which explains this has been shown in the Introductory Volume (p. 10), and an excellent example of the application of the rule under the old conditions is here given in the two-part composition *Rex coeli Domine* (p. 14), where for instance, in the concluding sections, *se iubeas flagitant* is seen as governed by the upper tetrachord and *variis liberare malis* by the lower, the *vox organalis* in neither case descending below the fourth sound. But the tetrachords implied in Guido's Diaphony are arranged in a different manner from those of his predecessors; they are conjunct, and their scale begins upon A<sup>2</sup>, thus :—



<sup>1</sup> 'Semitonium et diapente non admittimus ; tonum vero et ditonum (the major third) et semiditonum (the minor third) recipimus ; sed semiditonum in his infimum, diatessaron vero obtinet principatum.' *Micrologus*, cap. xviii.

<sup>2</sup> In Guido's time musicians had returned to the Greek scale, in which the low B is natural.

The lower limit, therefore, of the organal voice in each tetrachord is now the *third* sound, and the notes are F and C<sup>1</sup>.

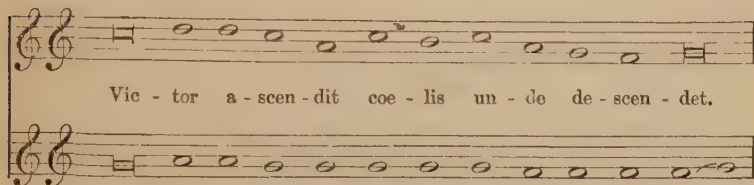
From this it would seem that the risk of a Tritone Fourth has now nothing to do with the prohibition of a descent below F or C respectively, nor indeed does Guido mention either that explanation of the rule or the reason given by the author of the *Scholia Enchiriadis*, the creation, that is to say, of parallel modes of different character by the use of continuous fourths; he puts forward in fact, as we shall presently see, another explanation altogether, based upon the impossibility of closing in unison in a proper manner if the rule be not observed.

It is certainly a curious circumstance that the three writers who have given reasons for this rule of not passing below certain sounds differ entirely from each other in their explanations of its necessity, and we are tempted to inquire whether the rule may not perhaps have been much older than the explanations, existing as a tradition of performance, and presenting to the theorists a phenomenon for which they felt themselves bound to give a musical reason. And in this point of view we must not omit a notice of the fact, mentioned by M. Gevaert (*Mélopée Antique*, &c., Appendix) that in the tenth century C was the lowest note both of the organ and of the cithara. A possible key to the puzzle may perhaps be found in this circumstance, but it must be remarked that although it might account for the rule as regards C, it will not apparently help us to understand the frequent avoidance of a descent below G or F.

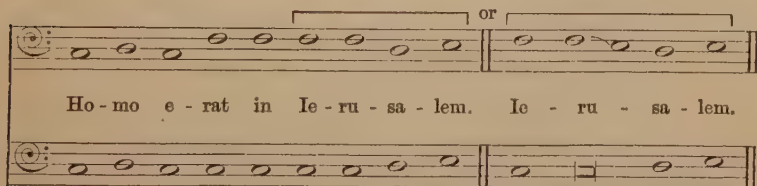
Returning, however, to the methods of Guido we find that his practical instructions, as a whole, relate partly to the

<sup>1</sup> 'A trito enim infimo aut infimis proxime substituto deponi organum nunquam licet.' *Micrologus*, cap. xviii.

means of avoiding this passage of the lower voice below the *Tritus* or third sound, and partly to the formation of closes. These may perhaps best be shown in his own examples of their application as follows :—



In this example, in Mode VIII, the melody, ranging almost entirely above the final, G, is governed by the tetrachord to which G belongs, and the organal voice is careful not to descend below the third sound of that tetrachord, F. We may also note that in the *occursus*, or coming together of the parts at the end, the unisons upon the two closing notes of the melody (which are also apparent in several sections of the former example *Rex coeli Domine*) are disguised by delaying the passage of the lower voice <sup>1</sup>. In the following example, however, which is in Mode IV, the older method is adopted.



The variant is given by Guido in order to show the pleasant effect of coming to the unison by way of a major third between the voices <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> 'Cum occursus fit tono, diutinus fit tenor finis, ut ei partim subsequatur, et partim concinatur.' *Micrologus*, cap. xviii.

<sup>2</sup> 'Ecce distinctio in deuterio E, in qua ditoni occursus, vel simplex vel intermissus, placet.' *Ibid.*



An important example is a Diaphony upon the antiphon for the office of St. Agnes, in Mode I :—

Ip - si so - li . . . . . ser - vo fi - - - dem

Ip - si me to - ta de - vo - ti - o - ne com - mit - to.

In Guido's comment upon the first section of this example he gives his reason for refusing to descend below the *Tritus* C. He says that when the melody falls to C, a close in which the lower voice should move upwards to that note is not possible, because the *occursus* cannot proceed by way either of a tone or major third with the upper voice, but only by the semitone or minor third, which are not allowed <sup>1</sup>. His difficulty may be illustrated thus :—

†  
Minor third  
(not allowed).

†  
Semitone  
(not allowed).

Guido's reasons would seem to require further explanation. It is sufficiently clear, however, that for him it is the B which creates the necessity for the rule, and we must suppose, since no other objection to this note from Guido's point of view is

<sup>1</sup> 'Ecce finis distinctionis in trito C, a quo non deponimus organum, quia non habet sub se tonum vel ditonum, quibus fit occursus, sed habet semiditonus, per quem non fit occursus.' *Micrologus*, cap. xviii.

'Occursus tono melius fit, ditono non adeo, semiditonoque nunquam.' *Ibid.*

obvious, that the real cause of its unsuitability lay in its 'leading' quality. This, however, Guido does not say, nor does he apply his objection to the corresponding note E in the tetrachord next above, which renders the *occursus* from below upon F equally impossible.

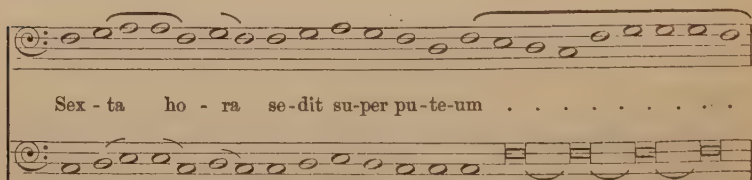
This kind of omission, perhaps not always unintentional, is rather characteristic of Guido's comments upon his illustrations. With respect, for instance, to the second and third sections of the example which we are now examining, we may perhaps suppose that the manner in which the final notes are accompanied is due to the fact that the closes are of a light and passing character ; but we receive no information on this point from Guido ; he merely indicates the fact that the lower voice moves chiefly in fourths, and that the parts do not come together. 'The Diaphony of Diatessaron,' he says, 'is here more pleasing than the *occursus*.' With respect to the last section no difficulty arises, and we are content to be told to notice the close upon the final of the mode, and the satisfactory manner in which the *occursus* is conducted by the interval of a tone between the voices.

The examples which remain to be noticed refer more especially to exceptions or licences. In the first, in Mode I, we may observe an instance of the forbidden descent of the organal voice below the Tritus C. No reason is given or excuse offered, but Guido points out that the voice after this escapade to A returns at once to C in order to secure a proper position in the approaching *occursus*.

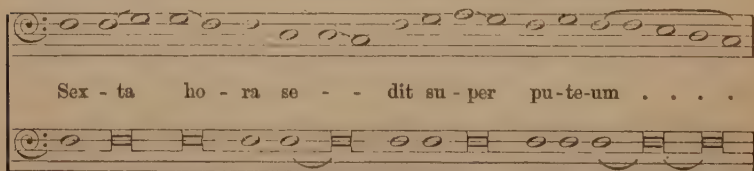
Ve - ni ad do - cen - dum nos vi - am pru - den - ti - ae

†

The timely arrival of the organal voice upon the note which is to form the lower member of the *occursus* is also seen in the following example, in Mode VI ; but a more striking feature of this close is the maintenance of the organal voice upon the Tritus F, while the melody in its long concluding flourish touches the corresponding note in the lower tetrachord, Tritus C.



A more remarkable instance of this last device, in which the Organum is held throughout upon the Tritus F, while the plagal melody pursues its course both above and below and finally ends in the lower tetrachord upon the Tritus C, is next given. From Guido's comment upon it, joined to some previous remarks, we gather that the melody in such cases was to be sung very quickly, and that no pause suggestive of a melodic close was to be made until the final *occursus* <sup>1</sup>.

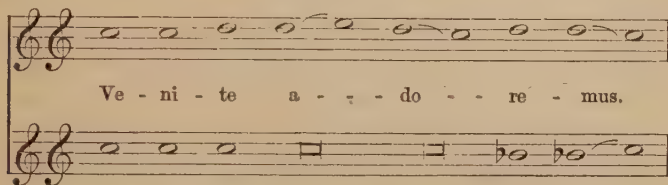


These last two examples are extremely interesting, and may possibly present to us the actual contemporary method of organizing the more florid figures of ecclesiastical melody.

Guido's final example, which he describes as being in

<sup>1</sup> ' Saepe autem cum inferiores trito voces cantor admiserit, organum suspensum tenemus in trito ; tunc vero opus est ut in inferioribus distinctionem cantor non faciat, sed discurrentibus cum celeritate vocibus praestolanti trito redeundo subveniat, et suum et illius facta in superioribus distinctione repellat.' *Micrologus*, cap. xviii.

Mode VI, illustrates a method of closing suitably from below upon the upper C, by the use of the tetrachord symmenôn, giving B $\flat$  in the lower voice ; his illustration, therefore, is written in the upper octave, to which in the Greek scale the alternative B $\flat$  belongs, instead of in the lower, as is usual with him.



Guido's examples, and his comments upon them, have here been exhibited at some length, in order to establish, as clearly as may be, the truth of the statement made above, namely, that the free Diaphony was in the beginning of the eleventh century already preferred for its own sake, and that the ear was now in fact often the real judge of its success. And this we may gather not only from the character of the examples themselves, but also from the nature of such rules as are given; for these are chiefly practical, and, unlike the rules of the strict Diaphony which depended upon the old-established concords, are based upon no apparent theoretical principle. The explanations of them which are attempted are generally vague and obscure, and even when definite seldom convince us of the necessity of the course prescribed. They are in fact, so far as we can see, the rules of a practitioner, who can only successfully support them by an appeal to custom, and to the general feeling among men of experience that in given circumstances certain combinations will sound better than certain others.

Regarded in this point of view, Guido's examples and comments would seem to reveal a period of considerable musical activity of the most promising character, and it might well be

supposed that some further manifestation of the free system displayed in the *Micrologus*—a system apparently so much in sympathy with the beautiful florid ecclesiastical melody—would soon have become evident ; it might also even be conceived as possible that by means of successive improvements in this system the contrapuntal music of later times might suitably have been developed. But, as a matter of fact, it would appear that the actual course of events was by no means such as we might have expected ; for already in the works of the writers upon Organum who come immediately after Guido no trace of either of the systems exhibited by him is to be found ; they disappear in fact entirely, and the system which takes their place is now based upon a principle unrecognized by Guido, and presents a totally new appearance.

Hitherto we have regarded the two systems of Organum or Diaphony, the strict and the free, chiefly from the point of view of the intervals employed ; and we have seen that, while the strict sort was based entirely upon the traditional concords, the freer kind admitted sounds which formerly had been held to be impossible, because discordant. We have seen, moreover, that in the strict Organum the voices were confined in each composition to one kind of concord, which was sung under the melody and moved with it continuously throughout, and that in the free sort the introduction of the discordant sounds among the concords created new and various intervals between the voices. But we have now to take notice of the fact, with respect to the free Diaphony, that in addition to the novelty of the mutual situations caused by the hitherto untried intervals, a new relation of another kind was established between the parts ; for whereas in the older method their only possible progression was parallel, the newer method gave rise to an oblique movement, and even in one case, where the *occursus* was made by a major third, to a contrary move-



ment. Of these two movements the oblique, arising as it does out of the characteristic rule of not passing below certain sounds, is in fact, though still mingled with the parallel, a characteristic feature of the free Diaphony, and may be said to be firmly established in that system ; the contrary movement, on the other hand, is foreign to the systems which we have already examined, and is indeed rather discouraged than otherwise by Guido, who, even when he admits it, recommends another way of closing as preferable.

The sudden appearance therefore of the new system which immediately succeeded that of Guido, and in which, as we shall see, the influence of the parallel and oblique movements is reduced to a minimum and the contrary movement is apparent as the leading principle and characteristic feature, is indicative of a change of the highest importance in musical thought, and marks the beginning of an entirely new view of the possibilities of the material of part music ; a view, in fact, not suggested by either of the systems displayed by Guido, and revealing principles which his methods of composition could not from the nature of the case supply. Moreover, since we have seen that the path of progress in Polyphony must be considered to lie along that line which tends towards the preservation of a balance between the individual element or element of variety, and the collective element or element of unity, we must regard the change of system as entirely beneficial to the art of symphonious singing, because completely destructive of the crushing domination of the collective element as seen in the strict method of organizing. For the oblique movement of the free Diaphony, though it established the recognition of the individual element in Polyphony and gave rise to a certain measure of progress, was still but an offshoot of the continuous parallelism of ancient times, and is therefore expressive only of a partial independence insuffi-

cient for the full development of music; in the principle of the contrary movement, on the other hand, and in the unfettered variety of the vocal progressions to which it gives rise, we recognize the declaration of individual freedom in the largest measure compatible with respect for the general law. Hence its immediate triumph and supersession of the former system, and its assumption of an authority which was thenceforward complete.

With the death of Guido, therefore, about 1050, and the advent of the new principle of the contrary movement, the first period of part music, the period of Organum or Diaphony, may be said in fact to be closed. Its chief task, the first liberation of the composition from the bonds of the strict continuous consonance of one kind inherited from the Greeks, had been accomplished, and the cultivation and development of the more fruitful elements which had been evolved in the course of the work were now to be undertaken, upon fresh methods, by the succeeding generations.

## CHAPTER V

### THE NEW ORGANUM AND THE TRANSITION TO MEASURED MUSIC

ALTHOUGH we may no doubt safely conclude, with respect to the original sources of the new Organum, that it was derived from the free species of the Fourth which was considered in our last chapter, the complete process by which the actual transition was effected is not only unknown to us, but is also at first sight somewhat difficult to imagine. The change was in fact very considerable, partly on account of the wide difference of principle which, as we have already seen, exists between the old and the new kinds of vocal progression, and partly from the absolute novelty of the symphonious relation now established between the voices ; for, as we shall presently see, the combination of dissonant intervals with consonance of one kind, which constituted the characteristic and important feature of the older free Organum, entirely disappears in the new system, and gives place to a carefully varied mixture of all the traditional concords. Considered as a whole, therefore, no method could well be more different from another than the method of the new system from that of the older one, and we must deplore the absence of the few links in the chain of description and example which are needed to make clear to us the intermediate phases of so remarkable a development.

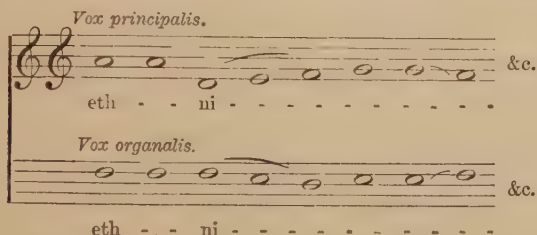
Our inability to trace the actual process of transition from the old to the new Organum is not due, as might perhaps be supposed, to the absence of musical treatises during the transitional period, but rather to a complete silence with respect to this branch of the subject. Berno, for instance, Aribio Scholasticus, and William of Hirschau, the writers upon music

who immediately succeeded Guido, all agree in the omission of any account of the methods of Organum, as if indeed it formed in their opinion no true part of music at all.

The reason for this momentary reaction, for such it would seem to be, from the warm interest in the subject which is evident in Guido, is not very apparent ; but whatever the reason may have been, the silence of these writers deprives us of the assistance which we have been accustomed hitherto to receive in a complete description of contemporary methods and a full explanation of their purpose. Indeed, we should be left in entire ignorance with respect to the development of symphonious singing between the date of Guido's death and the beginning of the twelfth century, were it not that we are fortunately able to turn to a few specimens of the work of that period, composed with a view to practice and quite apart from theory, from which we may learn something.

Of these the most important perhaps for the history of Organum are contained in an English MS. known as the Winchester Troper, now in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and dating probably from 1080 at the latest, in which some of the pieces—certain kyries, alleluias, and other portions of the divine service, are shown in two parts. Unfortunately the music is noted in neumes, without stave or clef, a circumstance which renders an exact translation in full impossible ; but the MS. is useful notwithstanding for our present purpose, since the parallel, oblique, and contrary movements can all be perfectly discerned in it, in situations similar to those which they might occupy in the free Organum of the Fourth, as we have seen it in the *Enchiriadis* and the *Scholia*. The chief interest, however, of the MS. resides in certain passages of contrary movement, appearing not at the closes, as had been usual hitherto, but in the course of the sentences, and displaying a more elaborate and extended

form than that of the old *occursus*. The most distinct of these, perhaps, is contained in a composition with Greek text, beginning 'Alleluya ymera agias,' where the two first syllables of the word 'ethnike' are treated in the following manner :—



The actual position of the organal passage in the scale cannot at present be determined, and the notes have therefore been shown without a clef ; there can be no doubt, however, with respect to the fact of contrary movement of a new kind.

It is to be hoped that notwithstanding the difficulties which stand in the way of translation, the exact nature of the musical contents of this valuable MS. may in the course of time become more clear to us ; and in that case it is not impossible that, among other results, we may be able to establish, through the Troper, some connexion between the Organum which we have already seen and another very remarkable kind, apparently quite independent of rule, which is exemplified in the remaining specimens of the practical work of this period to which reference has been made, and from which probably the method afterwards called discant, and therefore the whole of polyphonic music, was subsequently derived. But the consideration of these questions must be postponed for the present, and our attention must be given to the new development of the learned Organum which appears in the beginning of the twelfth century.

The earliest known expositions of the new Organum are



contained in the *Musica* of Johannes Cotto, written about the year 1100, and an anonymous treatise of similar date, *Ad Organum Faciendum*, now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan.

The first of these works is a treatise of the usual learned and dignified kind, chiefly devoted to the consideration of music from the point of view of the single voice, and remarkable for its dissertations upon notation and upon the supposed corruption of the ecclesiastical melodies. The author, following perhaps in this respect the example of Guido, devotes only one short chapter to the subject of organizing, which it must be said he treats in a somewhat dry and perfunctory manner, enunciating its rules very briefly and giving no examples. Nevertheless the information which he affords is of great importance. The Organum, we find, is now constructed entirely of consonances, and the arrangement of these is decided chiefly by the various kinds of progression adopted by the voices <sup>1</sup>. Varieties of progression therefore form the principal means of the new Organum and are the chief subject of the author's instructions. From these we learn that, although the similar movement of the voices is by no means forbidden, a contrary progression is upon the whole preferred <sup>2</sup>; while crossing of the parts also is not only allowed, but indeed appears even as a characteristic feature of the current system. This latter fact is evident not only from a passage contained in Cotto's definition of Organum already quoted at p. 9 (note) of the present work—*altero rectam modulationem tenente, alter per alienos sonos apte circueat*—but also from his rules for closing,

<sup>1</sup> 'Organum per consonantias fiat, ipsarum autem constitutiones per motus vocum variantur.' *Cottonis Musica*, cap. xxiii.

<sup>2</sup> 'Ea (diaphonia) diversi diverse utuntur. Caeterum hic facillimus eius usus est, si motuum varietas diligenter consideretur; ut ubi in recta modulatione est elevatio, ibi in organica fiat depositio, et e converso.' *Ibid.*

which direct that if the principal voice comes to a pause among the grave sounds the organal voice must end at the octave above, if the pause be among the acute sounds the organal voice must descend to the octave below, while at a close upon or near *mese* the organal voice must come to the same part of the scale and end in unison<sup>1</sup>; it is clear, therefore, that in certain given circumstances a direct inversion of the original relation of the voices must take place. Finally, it may be said that this author allows the use of two or even three notes as the equivalent of the single note of plainsong, in place of the *simplex motus* or usual note under note progression. He probably also intends to sanction the use of two or three notes of the plainsong against one of organum, a practice which may sometimes be observed in Guido's examples<sup>2</sup>.

But if Cotto, evidently a member of the literary class to which Berno, Aribio, and William of Hirschau belonged, describes the contemporary Organum imperfectly and in a grudging spirit which is well displayed in his closing words—*Et de diaphonia istud tantillum nos dixisse sufficiat*—the anonymous writer of the treatise in the Ambrosian Library, on the other hand, devotes the whole of his work to the subject of the new practice, and is moreover enthusiastic and bold even to rashness in his assertion of its merits, exalting the Organum indeed in dignity and importance far above the plainsong<sup>3</sup>; his

<sup>1</sup> 'Providendum quoque est organizanti, ut si recta modulatio in gravibus moram fecerit, ipse in acutis canendo per diapason occurrat; sin vero in acutis, ipse in gravibus per diapason concordiam faciat: cantui autem in mese vel circa mese pausationes facienti in eadem voce respondeat.' *Cottonis Musica*, cap. xxiii.

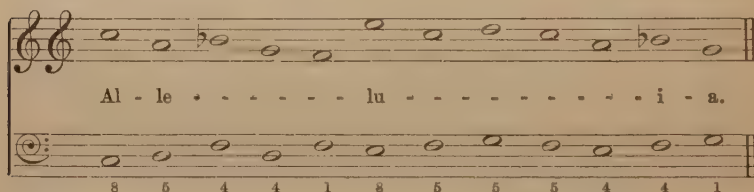
<sup>2</sup> 'Animadvertere etiam debes, quod quamvis ego in simplicibus motibus simplex organum posuerim, cuilibet tamen organizanti simplices motus duplicare vel triplicare, vel quovis modo competenter conglobare, si voluerit licet.' *Ibid*.

<sup>3</sup> The closing words of this treatise, which are in verse, may be com-

opinion, in fact, is so entirely opposed to the ecclesiastical view, and the possibility of its maintenance by a clerical advocate seems so remote, that we may perhaps suppose the author of the treatise to have been a layman.

The principal feature of the work is a classification of the various elements of the current practice, reduced to five modes, which are shortly described by the author. Examples also are given, in which it may be noticed that the *vox principalis* is now below the *vox organalis*, instead of above as formerly, and that the theme taken by the lower voice is the same in all the examples.

The first mode, he says, occurs when the first note of the Organum is 'conjunct'<sup>1</sup> (that is to say at the unison or octave with the melody), thus :—



The second mode occurs when the first note is 'disjunct'<sup>2</sup> pared with those of Cotto's chapter on Diaphony just given above in the text :—

'Organum acquirit totum  
sursum et inferius.  
Currit valde delectando,  
ut miles fortissimus.  
Frangit voces velut princeps,  
senior et dominus.  
Qua de causa applicando  
sonat multum dulcius.

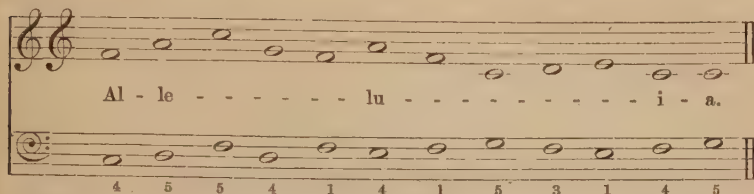
Cantus manet ut subiectus,  
praecedenti gratia ;  
Quia quod praecedat tantum  
minus quam sequentia,  
Ut Boetius praedixit  
sic in dialectica.  
Ergo organum excedit  
maiori potentia.'

Cousse-maker, *Histoire de l'Harmonie au Moyen Âge*, p. 243.

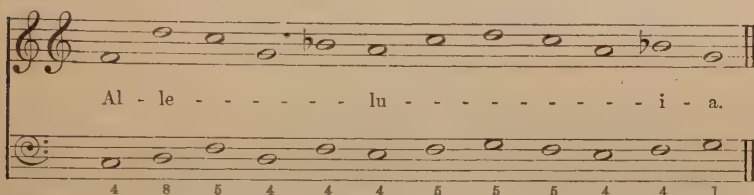
<sup>1</sup> 'Primus modus organizandi est quando prima vox copulatur cum praecedenti.' Ibid., p. 232. *Praecedens* in this MS. signifies the voice which sings the melody.

<sup>2</sup> 'Secundus fit per disiunctionem ipsius vocis ; nam differentia est coniunctio respectu disiunctionis.' Ibid., p. 233.

(that is to say at the fourth or fifth with the melody), thus :—

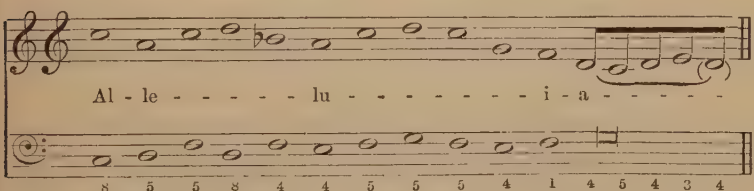


The third mode is concerned with the notes which compose the body of the music, proceeding in fourths and fifths<sup>1</sup>, thus :—



The statement of the fourth mode is obscure, and its example, which might have helped us, has been omitted from the MS.<sup>2</sup>

The fifth mode arises from the augmentation or diminution of the organal notes<sup>3</sup>, thus :—



This classification would seem to be purely arbitrary and of no real value whatever, since the peculiarities here described and shown in the examples, though undoubtedly distinct, do

<sup>1</sup> 'Tertius modus sumitur a mediis vocibus, quae mutantur per diatessaron si sunt in diapente, et e converso.' Ibid., p. 233.

<sup>2</sup> 'Quartus fit a diverso principio, vel a diverso medio, non tantum ab uno sed ab utroque.' Ibid., p. 233.

<sup>3</sup> 'Quintus per multiplicationem oppositarum vocum, augendo vel auferendo.' Ibid., p. 233.

not command a sufficiently wide range of influence upon the composition as a whole to deserve the name of modes. If, for instance, the special direction given by the initial interval to the progression of the three or four notes which follow—and its influence could seldom extend further—is to constitute a mode, then modes might be multiplied to almost any extent, and every small form of movement and arrangement of intervals might claim to be placed upon the list. It is in fact difficult to avoid the conclusion that the author's scheme represents merely a strong desire on his part to dignify the current practice, for which he expresses so much admiration, by exhibiting it in a systematic form similar to that which was adopted, with good reason, in the learned explanations of the ecclesiastical plainsong.

Besides this attempt at classification the author puts forward a number of rules for practical composition ; and from these, though they are apparently not exhaustive, it is evident that the contemporary organizers already possessed a fairly clear notion of the best method of proceeding in view of the ideal of this kind of music, which Cotto defines as the production of change and variety in the consonances by means of the movement of the voices. For there is no doubt that the rules are devised quite as much with the object of securing freedom and change of movement as in order to create variety of sound. We are told, for instance, that if the unison or octave to the plainsong are employed as the opening notes of the organal voice—the author's ' First Mode '—the note next taken should be either at the fourth or fifth, but that if on the other hand the opening note be at the fourth or fifth—the author's ' Second Mode '—it may be followed by the octave ; in general however, in passages of moderate length, all notes after the first, except the final which is usually either in unison or at the octave, should be at the fifth or fourth, but





new Organum which we possess. And in this point of view it is interesting to note, in the first place, that they both illustrate and supplement the axioms laid down by Cotto in his treatise. It is plain, for instance, from these examples that while Cotto's fundamental rule that the Organum should be made with consonances varied by the movement of the voices was generally observed, considerable latitude was at the same time permitted with respect to the degree of variety to be employed. In the illustration of the author's so-called Third Mode, for example, the parallel movement occurs five times, similar movement twice, and contrary movement twice ; in the illustration of the so-called Second Mode, on the other hand, the parallel movement occurs only once, and similar movement twice, while contrary movement is to be found in seven progressions. In one or two fragments of composition included in the treatise, but not given expressly as illustrations of the text, the use of the contrary movement is seen as still further extended ; as for instance in the following specimen, where we may note not only that the parallel movement has entirely disappeared, but that with the exception of the first three notes, where the movement is similar, and those at the junction of the sections, where it is oblique, contrary movement is employed throughout :—

Hoc . . sit . . vo - - - bis i - - - ter . . . . .

1 4 5 8 4 8 4 1 5 8 5 1 5 8 4 1

This specimen also affords an interesting example of interchange or crossing of parts, for it will be remarked that throughout the first section the organal voice sings below the principal, and returns to its normal position in the second.

Another kind of interchange is also to be seen in the example of the so-called Fifth Mode, where a device corresponding to Guido's *Organum suspensum*<sup>1</sup> is employed; the author, however, gives no particulars with respect to it, and though we see that it was allowed to the organal voice we are not told whether it might be employed, as in Guido's system, by the principal, or whether this was forbidden. The flourish, it will be observed, is executed below the principal, and was probably sung very quickly, like that below the *Organum suspensum*.

In two other respects also we observe the signs of a considerable latitude in the application of the prevailing rules. In the author's treatment of B in the upper voice, for instance, we may note that he constantly takes that sound as a fourth to F, correcting the discordance by a flat. The rule, of course—since the old practice of standing still upon C had been given up—was to avoid the tritone by taking B in the upper voice only as an octave or fifth to the voice below, since the admission of B $\flat$  in the upper voice must, it was feared, lead inevitably to its introduction, for organizing purposes, into the lower or principal voice, and thus bring about an ever-increasing corruption of the plainsong. The author of this treatise, however, though he quotes Guido's remarks upon the use of B $\flat$ , in which the device is treated as inadmissible and superfluous<sup>2</sup>, not only

<sup>1</sup> Cf. note, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> 'Sed Gregorio non placet

Patri hæc lascivia ;

Et moderni sapientes

hanc neque commemorant.

Quamvis ergo apud quosdam

ipsa fiat vocula,

Apud multos tamen iure

dicitur superflua.'

Cousse-maker, *Histoire de l'Harmonie*, &c., p. 238.

Guido's remarks (taken from the Prologue to his Antiphonary) refer of course only to the melody or principal ; but from his own examples of *Organum*, already given in this work, we may conclude that he preferred a kind in which care was taken to avoid the B $\flat$  in the organal voice also. Only once does this note appear in his illustrations ; nor is the formula in which it then occurs put forward as his own, or even commended by him ; *invenies usurpatum* is all that he says,—you will find it much used.

uses the note freely in the upper voice, but also, though more sparingly, in the lower.

The second instance of latitude in the observance of rule occurs in the closes of the examples of the so-called Modes, where we find that Cotto's rule for the final conjunction when the principal ends upon or near to *Mese* is twice obeyed and twice neglected, the voices in two cases coming, as enjoined, to the unison, but in one case also to the fourth and in the other to the fifth. This treatment was probably adopted as a part of the general display of the possibilities of the art as now constituted, which seems to have been the chief object of these examples.

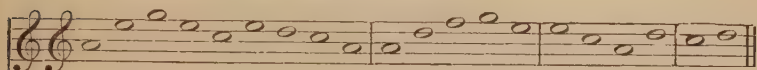
The most striking feature of this author's exposition of the new Organum is probably his construction of so many various examples upon one melody. The power to do this was of course within the reach of all from the moment at which the contrary movement was first devised, but the exhibition of the method in this and perhaps similar treatises must have been, for many of the contemporary musicians, a revelation of unsuspected resources, and of an apparently unlimited field for the exercise of invention. For us, on the other hand, the author's method of proceeding is not only significant of a great advance in the art of music, as the result of the new system of organizing by varied concords, but also points out its future direction, and already suggests the means by which the materials of Polyphony were to be completed ; and in fact, as we shall see, existing compositions prove that the first actual expansion of the polyphonic principle, the addition of a third real part to the original two, dates from this period, and that the fourth part followed soon after.

In passing from this treatise a final example of its methods, upon a comparatively extended scale, may be given. Being more or less complete in itself it affords a better idea of the

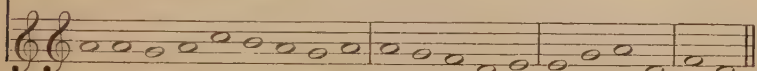
music of the divine worship at this time than could be obtained from the fragments hitherto exhibited. It was performed either simply in two parts, or with both voices reduplicated at the octave.

## TROPE OR PARAPHRASE OF THE KYRIE.

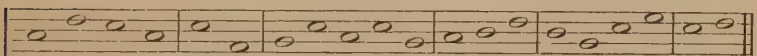
(MS. in the Ambrosian Library, Milan.)



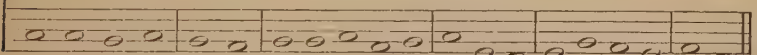
Cunc-ti-po-tens ge-ni-tor De-us om-ni-cre-a-tor e - - - - ley-son.



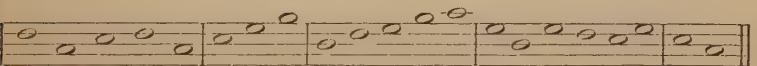
1 5 8 5 1 4 4 4 1 1 5 8 11 8 8 4 1 8 5 8



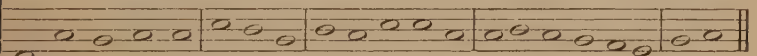
Chris-te De - i splen-dor vir-tus pa-tris-que so-phi-a e - - - - ley-son.



1 4 4 1 4 1 1 4 1 5 1 1 5 8 5 1 5 8 5 8



Am-bo-rum sa-crum spi-ra-men nex-us a-mor-que e - - - - - ley-son.



8 1 4 4 1 1 4 8 1 4 3 5 8 5 1 5 5 5 8 4 1

That the system here exemplified preserved its theoretical authority, at least during the first half of the century which followed, seems clear from the evidence of the two treatises which are next to be mentioned; for the methods displayed in these works, while they reveal certain characteristics which may be said to be in advance of anything which we have as yet seen, are nevertheless in substantial agreement with the doctrine of Cotto and the anonymous author of the Milan MS.

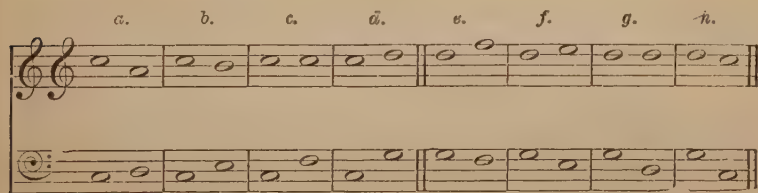


The first of these works is a little summary of the rules of composition, in the old French vernacular, dating probably from the beginning of the twelfth century, which, like the treatise last described, has been printed by M. de Coussemaker in his *Histoire de l'Harmonie au Moyen Âge*<sup>1</sup>. Compared with the works which we have just examined, its chief points of difference are the abolition of the interval of the fourth, which, as we shall see, is here excluded from the list of possible concords, and the satisfactory and practical character of the rules for the treatment of the octave and fifth. We now no longer find a mere description of the actual movements of the notes in a given example, but definite instructions for the progression of the organal voice—or rather, as this author calls it, the *discant*<sup>2</sup>—in a certain number of cases. We are told, for instance, that if the melody begins with an upward progression, the first note of discant must be the octave to the first note of melody, in order to leave ample room for a contrary movement of the discant downwards; while on the other hand, if the melody descends, the discant will begin upon the fifth, in order that the proper contrary movement upwards may not create too great a divergence. Then if the melody proceeds upwards one degree the discant will fall two from its octave, as shown in the subjoined example (*a*); a rise of two notes in the melody is met by a fall of one in the discant (*b*); a rise of three notes in the melody obliges the discant to stand still (*c*) from lack of room to move

<sup>1</sup> The original of this little work is in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, where it exists in the shape of a marginal addition to a thirteenth-century treatise—(*fonds S. Victor*, 813)—of which mention will be made presently in the text. It covers the margins of about two pages, and is written in a hand which, though not the same as that of the rest of the MS., is apparently of the same date. Its doctrine, however, shows it to be a copy of something much older, and in fact a statement of the practice of the period which we are now considering.

<sup>2</sup> The change of word here, however, involves no change of idea; Discant is only Diaphony latinized, and Diaphony was of course synonymous with Organum.

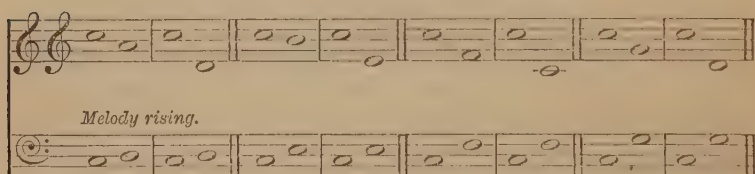
(since the fourth, as has been said, is not allowed by this author), and at a rise of four notes in the melody the discant is forced to abandon the contrary movement, and rises also, moving one note (*d*); and in general, when the melody continues to rise, and there is no room for the contrary progression, parallel fifths are recommended until a descent in the melody again admits of free treatment. The same principles apply to the discant upon a descending melody, in which the voices begin at the interval of a fifth. If the melody falls one note the discant rises two (*e*); if the melody falls two notes the discant rises one (*f*); at a fall of three notes in the melody the discant stands still upon the fifth (*g*); at a fall of four notes the discant descends one note (*h*), and if the melody continues to descend a discant in fifths is again recommended as the proper course; but the discanter must be careful always to close upon the octave.



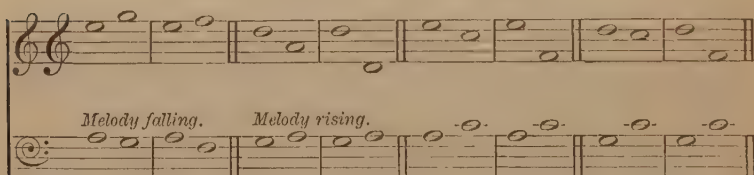
The rules given in the treatise of Guy, abbot of Châlis, written probably not earlier than the middle of the twelfth century, reveal a somewhat richer and more complicated method than that which we have just examined, but no change in the general principles of music. We may indeed note that the fourth, which was banished in the former treatise, here appears occasionally, and that the word *discant* seems to be unknown to this author. The rules are twenty-one in number; they are exceedingly clear and precise in statement, and provide for the conduct of the organal voice in almost all the circumstances which could have been likely to arise. The various conse-

quences, for instance, of a beginning at the octave with a rising melody, at the fifth with either a rising or a falling melody, and at the unison with a falling melody, are all very fully described, and generally with two alternatives for each progression of the plainsong; attempt also is made to establish a grammatical method of singing both above and below a stationary note. The effect of these rules is displayed in the following examples :—

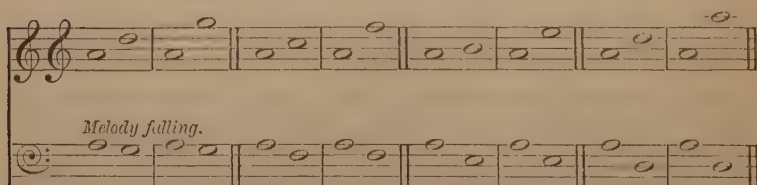
THE ORGANUM AT THE OCTAVE.



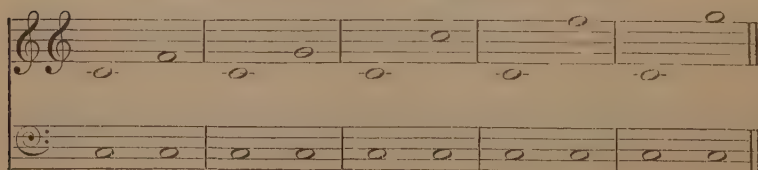
THE ORGANUM AT THE FIFTH.



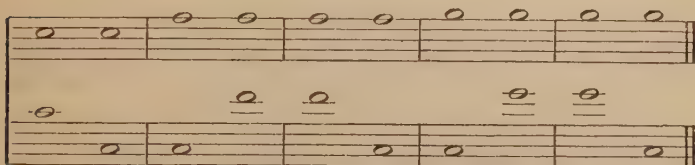
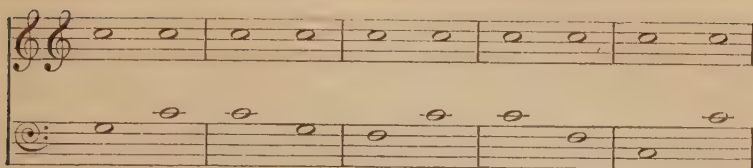
THE ORGANUM AT THE UNISON.



ORGANUM ABOVE A STATIONARY NOTE.



## ORGANUM BELOW A STATIONARY NOTE.



The rules of Guy de Châlis, who lived, as has been said, during the latter half of the twelfth century, may be taken probably as representing the perfection of Organum, considered simply as a method of extemporizing a second part upon the plainsong, entirely in concords, in equal notes with the plain-song, and mainly in contrary movement ; but they must not be supposed to indicate the limits of music, either in the time of their author, or even at a period considerably more remote ; they exhibit only the work of theory, the careful improvement of the received tradition upon established lines, the operation of taste and judgment ; the operation of the creative impulse, working independently upon the same tradition, they ignore. Yet the creative impulse, already awaking to a sense of the individual freedom contained in the principle of contrary movement, had, long before—before the embodiment even of the principle in didactic form—produced results of the greatest importance for music. And this will be evident in a comparison of the system which we have just examined with the examples of practical composition which are now to be taken into consideration.

With the exception of the pieces contained in the Winchester Troper, the earliest practical compositions which we possess

are the specimens of irregular Organum in contrary movement which have been already referred to as appearing in MSS. of late eleventh and early twelfth century date. This Organum is here called irregular, not only because it conforms neither to the old rules of which Guido was the latest exponent, nor to the more modern system of Corto, but because it appears as purely experimental, admitting a large number of inconsonant intervals which however are not in any way distinguished, as regards the principle governing their use, from the consonances. Its immediate source, as has already been said, cannot be traced at present; it appears, as a perfectly unforeseen phenomenon, immediately after the time of Guido, whose own system reveals no trace either of the principle of contrary movement, or of any independent use of dissonance. Its application, as we shall see, was extended both to liturgical and extra-liturgical compositions; the method therefore was probably not, as might be supposed, of purely secular origin, but may have been developed, even to a considerable extent, within the church.

One of the earliest examples of this kind of Organum known to exist is a little composition, written in an early twelfth-century hand, interpolated in a Cornish MS. otherwise of the tenth century, now in the Bodleian Library (Bodley 572)<sup>1</sup>. Here the difficulty with respect to translation does not arise, for the piece is in the simple alphabetic notation, in which the

<sup>1</sup> The date (tenth century) given for this little piece at its first appearance in the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society's publication *The Musical Notation of the Middle Ages*, 1890, and continued in their subsequent volume *Early English Harmony*, 1897, under the editorship of the writer of the present work, has now to be corrected. It was formerly considered that the whole of the MS. Bodley 572 was of the same period; experts however are at present of opinion that, while the body of the MS. is of the tenth century, this piece was inserted after 1100. Yet, considering both its technical character, and the method of its notation, the music itself would seem to be of the eleventh century.



first octave of the scale from the lower A upwards is represented by the letters which denominate the notes, and the second by a simple continuation of the alphabet. The subject of the composition is part of a hymn to St. Stephen, a version of which occurs in the *Sarum Antiphonal*:—

## UT TUO PROPITIATUS.

Bod. Lib. (Bodley 572).

h g f g . h k l n . h k l k h .  
 h h h g . h g g f . h g f g h .

Ut tuo . . . . . pro - - pi - ti - -

h i g f g h . h k l k l k h .  
 k g i h i h . h g h f g h g h .

- a - - - - - tus, in - ter - - ven - - - - tu

h g f g h . d e d f k i k i l n .  
 c h h i h h . g h g f g h h k g f .

Do - mi - - - nus nos . . . . . pur - - ga - - - tos

g k l m l k l h . f g h . f g  
 g h g h h i h h . h i h . h g

a . . pec - - ca - - - - - tis iun - - gat coe - -



of fourths (seventeen) employed, and from the two cases in which they are used in parallel movement with three consecutive notes of the melody, that the method of this composition originates in the free Organum described in the *Enchiriadis* and the *Scholia*.

That the use of all sorts of intervals was not confined to England at this period seems clear from another specimen, of rather later date than the last, contained in a MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, at Paris (No. 1139). It is noted in neumes, without clef, but now upon a stave of two lines; translation therefore with some approach to certainty is possible, as indeed M. de Coussemaker seems to have proved in a rendering published in his *Histoire de l'Harmonie au Moyen Âge*, which is substantially as follows :—

## MIRO LEGE, MIRO MODO.

Bibl. Nat. Paris MS. 1139, *Histoire de l'Harmonie au Moyen Âge* (Coussemaker), *Monuments*, Pl. XXIII.

Mi - ra le - ge, mi - ro mo - do, De - us for - mat ho - mi - nem,

*Vox principalis.*

12 8 5 8 5 8 5 8 12 8 5 8 5 3 1

Mi - re ma - gis hunc re - for - mat vi - de mi - rum or - di - nem . .

5 3 1 1 5 4 3 1 2 5 3 3 6 4 4 6

<sup>1</sup> The note covered by the circumflex accent represents the *plica*, a grace note, the nature of which will be explained later.

Re-for-man-dis mi-rus or-do in hoc so-nat de-ca-cor-

do

Before passing to an examination of this example it may be well to take note of the fact that the disposition of the melody or subject in the lower place—a circumstance which was observable in the MS. of the Ambrosian Library, and again in our last example, is seen also here, and that it now represents a change in the method of Organum which was both general and permanent; this will be evident as we proceed, for in future examples the organal voice will be found always above the theme. With respect to the reason for this sudden reversal of the old method we are at present quite without information; notwithstanding the comparative magnitude of the change, its necessity in the view of the contemporary musicians has never apparently been explained, and it remains among the many enigmas, still unsolved, which are presented to us by this period—1050 to 1150—the dark age of polyphonic music.

The subject of this composition is not, like the last, a fragment of ecclesiastical melody arranged in notes of equal length, but a metrical song ; and although we may perhaps doubt whether the words given are those for which it was first made, it is evident that the pleasant melody itself has not been tampered with, and that the whole setting is cast in the original form of the subject, which is a triple (Trochaic) rhythm in strains of which four are regular and one irregular. With respect to the intervals employed in the Organum, it may be said that they have been chosen with less freedom than those of the example last given, for we find here no seventh, and the seconds are only used in passing. The important place given in the former example to the fourth is now taken by the fifth, for this interval appears twenty-two times, and once in parallel movement above three consecutive notes of the subject ; the fourth, on the other hand, is only to be found in nine cases. The thirds and sixths are used in about the same proportion as in the former example, that is to say the third seventeen times and the sixth four times ; the unison appears sixteen times and the octave eight times. Thus, in comparing this example with the former one, we may notice the important fact, illustrative no doubt of the influence of theory upon practical composition, that the tendency is largely towards an increase of concord ; for while in the *Ut tuo*, &c., the proportion of concord to discord was less than two to one, in the *Mira lege* it is about two and a half to one. This will appear from the following table :—

	INTERVALS.	CONCORD.	DISCORD.
<i>Ut tuo, &amp;c.</i>	74	46	28
<i>Mira lege.</i>	76	55	21



Of the example as a whole it may be said that it resembles the former one in a complete absence of rule or system in the use of the discordant intervals, with however the same possible exception in the case of the thirds. We may also note that the device of putting more notes than one against one of the theme, or *vice versa*, increases, and is more intelligently applied than in the former example ; and finally that the fifth is now used in closing, as well as the octave and the unison.

In the confused method of composition revealed in these examples we see probably the archaic phase of artistic music. If we may hazard the conjecture, it would seem to represent an attempt to employ the inconsonant intervals of the old free organum in a new manner, and thus to extend the application of principles which had already made their appearance by a kind of accident in the pre-artistic period of symphonious singing. We may in fact perhaps not unreasonably suppose that delight in the variety of sound and comparative freedom of progression which were the result of the introduction of the inconsonant intervals in the free portions of the old Organum suggested an attempt to create a similar freedom and variety in those parts which were still dominated by the parallel fourths.

Reviewing the work of this time, both in its theoretical and practical aspects, we are chiefly struck by the great progress actually made during a transition extending apparently over little more than fifty years. Not only may it be said that an art of music now begins to appear, but also that the art has already taken up positions of great importance for its future development ; for by the substitution of the contrary movement for the similar and oblique as the governing mode of progression, and by the deliberate mixture of discord with concord—even though the true meaning of this latter process was not as yet perceived—principles were established whose in-

fluence not only controlled the methods of the relatively finished practice which immediately followed, but was felt throughout the whole of the polyphonic period.

But, striking as the progress thus effected must appear, a glance at the existing examples of the new artistic music at once reveals the fact that one very important element of free composition is still wanting, namely, a musical measure. The measure of those examples in which measure is present at all is, as in all hymns and songs, in simple accordance with that of the words for which the music was composed; but although this method is sufficient for small pieces, in which one kind of metre can be maintained without fatigue throughout in all the parts, it bars the way to any attempt towards extended or varied compositions, or to the employment of essentially different kinds of metre at the same time. The freedom therefore which had been bestowed upon music by the principles of contrary movement and premeditated discord, and which was manifested in the flowing counter melody or free organal part, was to some extent neutralized by the bonds of similar rhythm so long as these were maintained; liberation from these bonds was necessary before any fresh extension of the limits of music was possible, and this liberation, which could only be effected by the establishment of a purely musical standard of measure, was to be the work of the period which we are next to consider.

CHAPTER VI  
THE RISE OF MEASURED MUSIC AND THE  
RHYTHMIC MODES

I

THE MEASURED NOTATION AND ITS RELATION  
TO FIXED RHYTHMS

THE wide divergence of the methods of artistic music from those of strict Organum, which was exhibited in our last chapter, rendered necessary a special distinguishing name for the new system ; and the name which was chosen, *Discantus*, a double or diverse song, though it indicates nothing that was not already contained in Organum, not only proved sufficient for its original purpose but was also continued after the advent of musical measure. A special name, *Cantus mensurabilis*, was indeed often adopted by many authors, to describe the music in which measure was present throughout as opposed to that in which it was either non-existent or only partially applied, but the new name did not exclude the older one, and both continued to be used indifferently for the same purpose.

The origin of musical measure is obscure, but it is difficult to resist the conclusion that it arose from the desire, at a time when metrical progression was the only known means of imparting life and purpose to the composition, to employ essentially different kinds of metre in different voices at the same time. Originally, as our examples of the early practical music indicate, a metre of one kind, that is to say essentially either duple or triple, must have been used either alone or possibly in company with another of the same kind ; and this method could of course occasion no difficulty, since even when the metres were different, as for instance in the mixture of dactyl with spondee, the proportion would be equal ; but

the attempt to mix duple metre with triple would create confusion, and it would at once be perceived that the only way to accomplish this object, to accommodate the dactylic metre for instance to the trochaic or the iambic to the anapaestic, must be the discovery of a common musical measure in which the duple and triple proportions of these metres might be blended.

No doubt the singing of several real parts together in similar metre had already, in the period represented by our last examples, established a simple idea of measure, suitable to the necessities of the case, in which the musical long was in principle exactly equal to two metrical breves; and in fact references to such a conception of measure are to be found in the works of the theorists. The anonymous treatise, *Discantus Positio Vulgaris*, for instance, given by Jerome of Moravia as the embodiment of the oldest rules for measured music, describes the long note which contained three beats as 'exceeding the measure,' because it is more than two<sup>1</sup>; and Walter Odington, writing later, says distinctly that among the earlier 'organists' the long had two beats or times, 'as in the metres'<sup>2</sup>. Moreover, there are material traces of the fact; at least one little note formula (■ or ■), held by all the mensuralists to signify a triple proportion, was employed by certain musicians, even in the latter half of the twelfth century, to express the sequence of two equal notes<sup>3</sup>; and this custom is extremely suggestive of a period in which the

<sup>1</sup> 'Ultra mensuram sunt quae minus quam uno tempore et amplius quam duobus mensurantur, ut semibreves . . . et longa quando longa sequitur; habet enim tria tempora.' *Cousse. Script.* i. 94.

<sup>2</sup> 'Longa autem apud priores organistas duo tantum habuerit tempora, sic in metris. . . Brevis vero apud priores resoluta est in duas semibreves; apud modernos, aliquando in tres, aliquando in duas.' *Ibid.* i. 235.

<sup>3</sup> This formula in its belated use expresses generally two notes of the tribrach, or foot of three short beats, a metre akin to the trochaic and iambic; formerly it would have served equally well to denote either these or the two short notes of the dactyl or anapaest.

figure formed part of a binary system, applicable to either kind of metre separately.

Apart, however, from these instances, and some others which seem to reveal the fact that a duple proportion was for some time struggling to maintain itself against the triple <sup>1</sup>, the whole of the theoretical and practical work of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries describes and exemplifies a ternary scheme. It would appear, therefore, that the more natural and eventually triumphant kind of measure failed at this time to satisfy the immediate needs of musicians, and gave way before a system in which the long note was valued as three or divided into two unequal fractions—a short valued as one, and a long valued as two <sup>2</sup>—and that the triple proportion was thus definitely established as paramount, and was eventually extended, with certain modifications, to every kind of musical equivalence and to all forms of notation.

The suggestion offered above, namely, that the musical measure of this period was probably adopted as a means of creating a practical agreement between essentially different kinds of metrical rhythm, finds great support in a saying of Walter Odington, that the long note of the triple proportion, the key and centre of the new system, derived its origin from the dactylic and anapaestic metres <sup>3</sup>. The bearing of this statement upon the question will be perceived if we consider the manner in which these metres, in themselves duple, are adapted in the mensural system to the accompaniment of the trochaic and iambic metres, in which the rhythm is triple.

<sup>1</sup> In the rules given in the *Discantus Positio Vulgaris* for equivalence, we find that four breves may be the equivalent of the triple long, or normal long and breve :—‘ Super quamlibet notam firmi cantus ad minus due note, longa scilicet et brevis, *vel aliquid his equipollens, ut quatuor breves, vel tres cum plica brevi, proferri debent.*’

<sup>2</sup> ‘ Omnes autem note discantus sunt mensurabiles per directam brevem et directam longam.’ *Ibid. Cousse. Script. i. 95.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid. i. 291.*



The metres to be combined and their adaptations may be shown side by side in the following manner :—

POETIC METRES.		POETIC METRES IN COMMON MUSICAL MEASURE.	
Trochee (3)	Iambus (3)	Two Trochees (6)	Two Iambi (6)
—    ˘ 2    1	˘    — 1    2	—   ˘,   —   ˘ 2   1,   2   1	˘   —,   ˘   — 1   2,   1   2
—   ˘   ˘ 2   1   1	˘   ˘   — 1   1   2	—,   ˘   ˘ 3,   1   2	˘   ˘,   — 1   2,   3
Dactyl (4)	Anapaest (4)	Dactyl (6)	Anapaest (6)

Here it will be seen that in the adaptations the dactylic and anapaestic feet maintain their duple proportion in arsis and thesis, while the new triple measure in each half of the foot brings the whole in each case into equality, both in proportion and accent, with two trochees or two iambi. We can hardly suppose that the mensural system here shown could have been evolved apart from these adaptations, or that the perfection with which they are achieved was the result of chance coincidence, and we may perhaps therefore understand Odington's saying that we owe the triple long to the metres which he mentions, in the sense that musical measure arose out of the process here displayed.

This suggestion of the origin of an important mensural form in the alteration of a metre may still appear somewhat improbable, unless we take into consideration the enormous influence which was exercised upon music at this time by the metrical rhythms. These had already, apparently, before the completion of the mensural notation, been reduced, by means

of the common triple proportion, to a system of formulae, called Modes, the importance of which in the opinion of the time may be estimated from the fact that it formed a distinct and complete subject of discussion in every important treatise, from the *Discantus Positio Vulgaris*, before 1150, down to the *De Speculatione Musicae* of Odington in the first quarter of the fourteenth century. In these modes, used either singly or in combination, all music was theoretically supposed to be written, and all the figures devised to represent the duration of sounds were also considered as specially expressing them ; indeed, the connexion between these formulae and the visible signs of music, which will become fully apparent as we proceed, was so close that the author of the great treatise *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis* (generally supposed to be Franco of Cologne <sup>1</sup>), in the opening sentence of his chapter upon the

<sup>1</sup> The only particulars respecting this writer which we possess are to be found in one of the existing copies of his work, a MS. of the fourteenth century in the library of S. Dié, which concludes with the following words : ‘Explicit magna ars mensurabilis musice Reverendi Viri cuiusdam Domini Franconis, Capellani Domini Pape, necnon Preceptoris Domus Coloniensium hospitalis Sancti Iohannis Ierosolimitani.’ It would also appear that in a MS. treatise by Giovanni Ciconi, in the library of Pisa, mention is made of him as ‘Magister Francho de Colonia, prothonotarius.’ *Cousse. L’Art Harm., &c.*, p. 22.

Very early in the history of this treatise a claim to its authorship was put forward by another person. Hieronymus de Moravia, a writer of the thirteenth century, introduces the copy of it which is given in the text of his work thus : ‘Subsequitur positio tertia Iohannis, videlicet de Burgundia, ut ex ore ipsius audivimus, vel, secundum vulgarem opinionem, Franconis de Colonia.’ This general refutation of a common opinion may have been intended by Hieronymus to possess a particular application to a treatise by one Petrus Picardus which he has also included in his own work. This author from time to time paraphrases and once writes down without alteration the words of *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis* ; and though he perplexes us for a moment by giving both Franco and Johannes as the authorities for his statements, ‘dictaque mea arti magistri Franconis de Colonia necnon et arbori magistri Iohannis de Burgundia, quantumque potero, conformabo,’ yet he eventually makes clear his opinion that *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis* is not by John of Burgundy by his comment upon

mensural figures, defines notation as 'the representation of vocal sound regulated according to some one of the modes.'

one of the paraphrases, 'ut in magna arte magistri Franconis prius dicti latius declaratur.' The only contribution in fact of John of Burgundy to the treatise of Picardus appears, in that author's opinion, to be the 'tree' (probably a diagram of the same nature as our own just given above in the text), whose illustrative powers he refers to several times with evident admiration. Notwithstanding, however, the claim of John of Burgundy, *ex ore ipsius*, recorded by Hieronymus, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the common opinion of his contemporaries was the right one. John of Burgundy, if we may judge from the scarcity of the references to him in the treatises, was of comparatively small reputation, while the famous work to which he laid claim bears all the marks of a master mind: it is original and dignified in style, and highly authoritative in the enunciation of its doctrine, a work in fact which corresponds in every way both to the musical reputation of Franco of Cologne (of whom the Anonymus of the British Museum says that he was one of the final revisers of the mensural notation), and to the intellectual qualities implied by his high ecclesiastical position. Nevertheless, until the claim of John of Burgundy to the authorship of this treatise, supported as it is by Hieronymus of Moravia, is disposed of by more direct evidence than we at present possess, a certain small degree of doubt must still remain with respect to the common and more probable opinion. It may be mentioned that two other treatises: *Tractatus de Consonantiis Musicalibus* (Cousse. Script. i. 296), and *Quedam de Arte Discantandi* (Bib. Nat. Paris, MS. 812) copy from *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis*, but make no reference to its author.

Mention should also be made of another very important contemporary work—which is to be found perhaps in its original form in Bib. Nat. Paris, MS. 813, with the title *De Arte Discantandi*—beginning with the words *Gaudent brevitare moderni*. The contents of this work have been reproduced more or less completely in a considerable number of treatises—for instance in *Abbreviatio, &c. a Iohanne dicto Balloce* (Cousse. Script. i. 292), in *Tractatus de Discantu* (ibid. i. 303), in *De Cantu Mensurabili* (ibid. i. 319), also in the treatise of Robert de Handlo (ibid. i. 383), and in parts of the treatise of John Hanboys (ibid. i. 403). In all these works the original, which must have been, apparently, of the same period as *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis*, but a little earlier in actual date, is ascribed to 'Franco.'

This fact formerly created a confusion which is well seen in the fifteenth-century treatise of John Hanboys. This writer evidently thought that *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis* and *Gaudent brevitare, &c.*, were from the same hand, since the basis of his treatise, or rather commentary, consists of a compound of both works, the result however being always ascribed to 'Franco.' Yet the difference in style should alone have been sufficient to

The modes differ slightly in number and arrangement in the various treatises, but the most usual form of the system is as follows :—

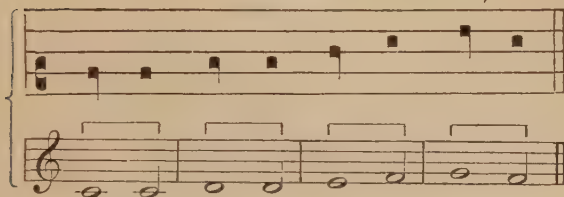
First ( <i>Trochee</i> ) .	$\overset{-}{\blacksquare} \overset{-}{\blacksquare}   \overset{-}{\blacksquare} \overset{-}{\blacksquare}   \overset{-}{\blacksquare} \overset{-}{\blacksquare}  $	&c.	$\circ \rho   \circ \rho   \circ \rho  $	&c.
Second ( <i>Iambus</i> ) .	$\overset{\vee}{\blacksquare} \overset{-}{\blacksquare}   \overset{\vee}{\blacksquare} \overset{-}{\blacksquare}   \overset{\vee}{\blacksquare} \overset{-}{\blacksquare}  $	&c.	$\rho \circ   \rho \circ   \rho \circ  $	&c.
Third ( <i>Dactyl</i> ) .	$\overset{-}{\blacksquare} \overset{\vee}{\blacksquare} \overset{\vee}{\blacksquare}   \overset{-}{\blacksquare} \overset{\vee}{\blacksquare} \overset{\vee}{\blacksquare}  $	&c.	$\circ \cdot, \rho \circ   \circ \cdot, \rho \circ  $	&c.
Fourth ( <i>Anapaest</i> )	$\overset{\vee}{\blacksquare} \overset{\vee}{\blacksquare} \overset{-}{\blacksquare}   \overset{\vee}{\blacksquare} \overset{\vee}{\blacksquare} \overset{-}{\blacksquare}  $	&c.	$\rho \circ, \circ \cdot   \rho \circ, \circ \cdot  $	&c.
Fifth ( <i>Molossus</i> ) .	$\overset{-}{\blacksquare} \overset{-}{\blacksquare} \overset{-}{\blacksquare}   \overset{-}{\blacksquare} \overset{-}{\blacksquare} \overset{-}{\blacksquare}  $	&c.	$\circ \cdot, \circ \cdot, \circ \cdot   \circ \cdot, \circ \cdot, \circ \cdot  $	&c.
Sixth ( <i>Tribrach</i> ) .	$\overset{\vee}{\blacksquare} \overset{\vee}{\blacksquare} \overset{\vee}{\blacksquare}   \overset{\vee}{\blacksquare} \overset{\vee}{\blacksquare} \overset{\vee}{\blacksquare}  $	&c.	$\rho \rho \rho   \rho \rho \rho  $	&c.

The following examples of the Rhythmic Modes indicate how the duple or triple value of the Long was determined by the nature of the mode :—

show that the author could not be the same in both cases, for whereas the style of *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis* is, as has been said, excellent, that of *Gaudet brevitae*, &c., is dry, methodical, and less marked by literary quality. And we in fact now know that during the short period which represents the climax of the mensural system another Franco, Magister Franco Primus as he is called by the Anonymus of the British Museum but better known as Franco of Paris, lived and wrote contemporaneously with the master of Cologne ; if therefore Franco of Cologne wrote *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis* in the treatise *Gaudet brevitae*, &c., we may probably see the work upon which rests the fame of Franco of Paris. That they should have been often confounded need occasion no surprise ; not only would the similarity of their names and dates of activity and their promulgation of the same doctrine tend towards such a result, but the fact also that their works represent very little that is original, and may rather perhaps be described as crystallizations of the settled musical thought of their age, must have tended to invest them with so much of the character of abstractions that even in their own time both may well have been merged in one idea of supreme authority.

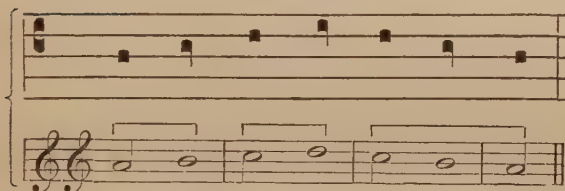
FIRST RHYTHMIC MODE.

(Trochee.)



SECOND RHYTHMIC MODE.

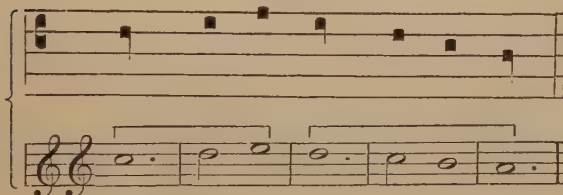
(Iambus.)



The form of the rhythmic mode might also demand that a Breve should express the value of a duple Long :—

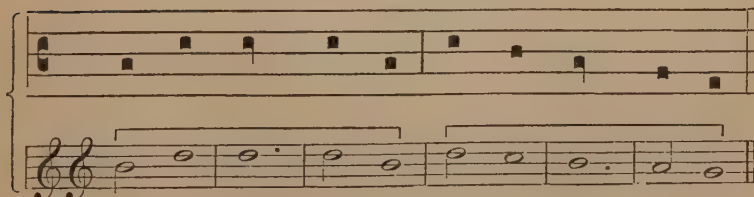
THIRD RHYTHMIC MODE.

(Dactyl.)



FOURTH RHYTHMIC MODE.

(Anapaest and Iambus.)



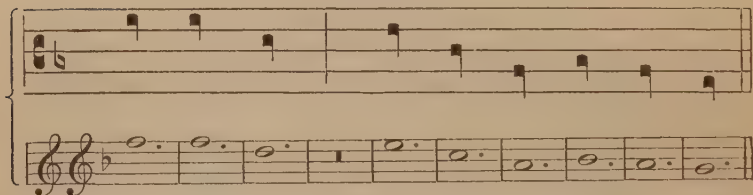


The above example of the fourth rhythmic mode illustrates the licence known as 'mixing the modes', i.e. by the interposition of a single iambic foot between the two anapaests<sup>1</sup>.

The fifth and sixth rhythmic modes, consisting of a series of equal Longs and equal Breves, involve no difficulty in notation :—

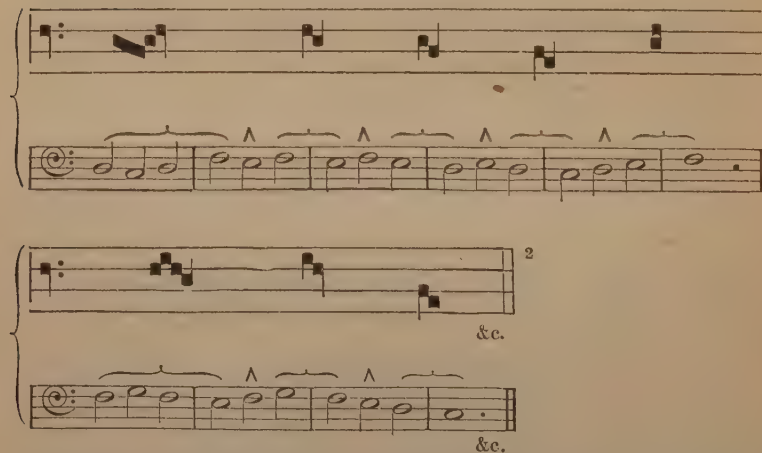
#### FIFTH RHYTHMIC MODE.

(*Molossus.*)



#### SIXTH RHYTHMIC MODE.

(*Tribrach.*)



<sup>1</sup> The use of the Breve to represent a twofold Long in the third and fourth rhythmic modes is an acknowledgement in principle of the corresponding 'shorts' of the poetic metres to which the melodies were nominally subservient.

<sup>2</sup> The notes marked Λ in the translation are supplied in accordance with the roles for the *Plica* : see Introductory Volume, *Notation*, p. 77.

In the foregoing examples we obtain our first real glimpse of the kind of melody to which these modes gave rise ; and we find that, in spite of the somewhat rigid character of the new method—a method adopted not from any special consideration for the improvement of melody itself,—most of these short fragments are more than tolerable, and some highly agreeable. This is not very surprising, perhaps, if we consider their origin, for they are indeed for the most part adapted fragments of ecclesiastical song, in which, since the original intervals have been carefully preserved, much of the former beauty is still to be perceived through the comparatively stiff disguise of the proportional rhythm. Yet it will be evident that, notwithstanding their pleasing qualities, the strict rhythmic modes could not, in the shape in which they are revealed in our examples, suffice for the purposes of composition. If these little passages, for instance, were extended, and continued in the unbroken form which is characteristic of them, they would soon cease to please ; for except in dance music, where the interest is sustained by a perception of the relation of each rhythmical unit to the larger rhythm of the strains, the constant flow of one kind of rhythmical figure must always in time become wearisome and cloying. And the existence of this possibility was in fact fully perceived, and its nature perfectly well understood, by the mensuralists, who in order to avoid it made use of two means—the breaking up of the melody into broad phrases marked out by pauses, and the mixture of the modes.

The first method we have already seen exhibited, in its most limited shape, in the examples of the fifth and sixth rhythmic modes ; in its more extended forms it somewhat resembles a division into strains, though without the perfect regularity and balance of that process. This will be evident from the two following examples of Tenors, of which the first is from the motett

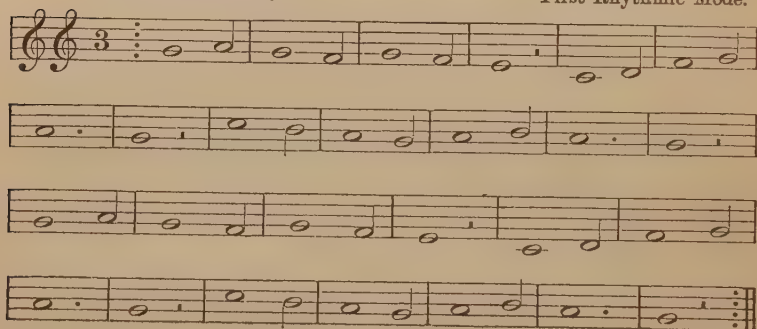
*Huic ut placuit*, by an unknown author, and the second from the motett *O natio nephandi*, ascribed to the author of the treatise *Discantus Positio Vulgaris*; both are in the fine MS. in the Library of the Faculty of Medicine at Montpellier <sup>1</sup>.

## I.

Mode (ecclesiastical) VIII.

MONTPELLIER MS.

First Rhythmic Mode.

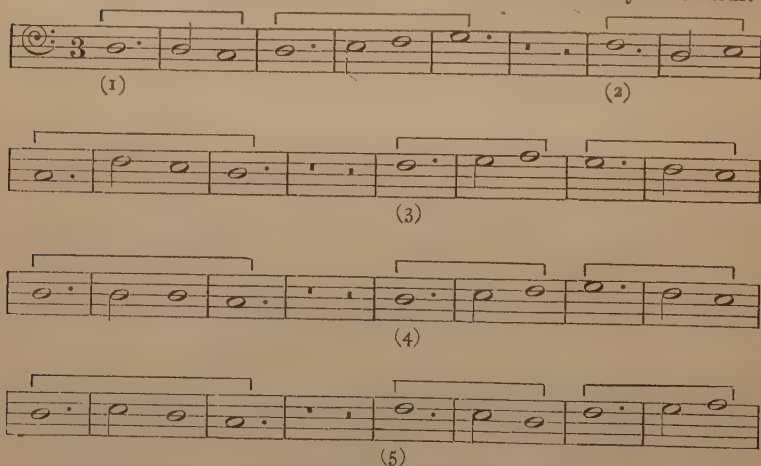


## II.

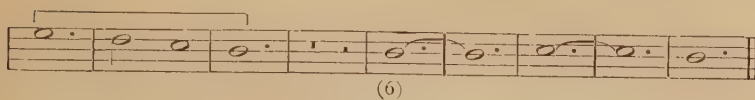
Mode (ecclesiastical) II.

i. MONTPELLIER MS.

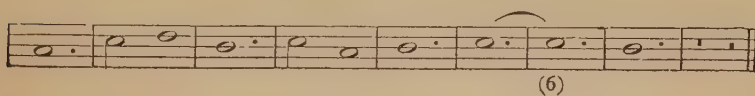
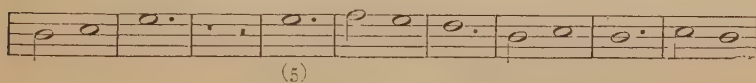
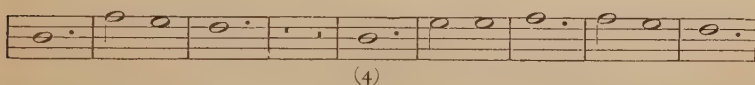
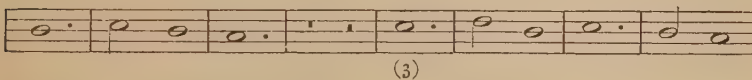
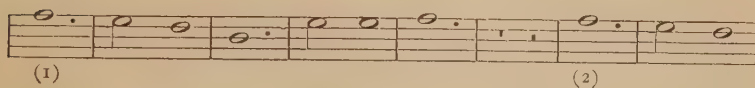
Third Rhythmic Mode.



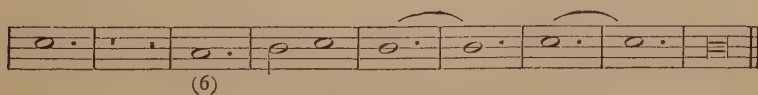
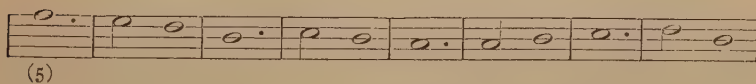
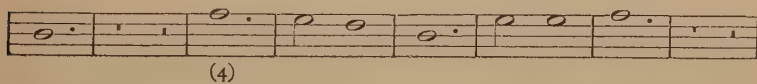
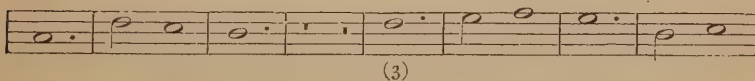
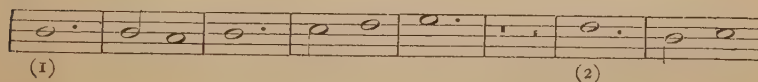
<sup>1</sup> M. de Coussemaker's *L'Art Harmonique aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècles* is mainly an exposition of the contents of this valuable MS.



ii.



iii.



It will be seen that the first example consists of a single strain of three phrases, two of which contain four measures

and one five, the whole thrice repeated. The second and more extended example consists of three very long strains, of which the first and third contain forty-one measures each, and the second forty-three ; these measures are grouped in each strain in three broad phrases of melody, excellent in themselves and varied in a masterly manner. The idea of repetition also is already perceived ; the last strain opens with the first and second phrases of the first, and shortly after introduces the first and part of the second of the second strain. The composition as a whole, regarded from our present point of view, may be said to reveal the existence of a system for the management of rhythm, upon an extended scale and apart from metrical words, which though as yet incomplete is in harmony with more modern ideas.

The methods by which the second means of obtaining variety, the mixture of modes, was effected, were in theory two in number, of which the first and most decisive was the simple juxtaposition of rhythmical figures not belonging to the same mode, and the second the omission of part of a figure and the substitution of an equivalent pause.

With respect to the first of these methods it may be said that it presents no difficulty whatever ; the examples which are given in the treatises in illustration of it are at once seen to effect the object proposed, and from the compositions of the time we find that its application was universal. But the second method is exceedingly difficult to understand, owing to the apparent impossibility of reconciling the language of the theorists respecting it—if we are to understand them literally—with anything that we know of the contemporary practical music.

The theory is this. Pauses which express the value of the whole figure do not of course produce any effect upon the rhythm, but the omission of the long note in the first mode



or of the short note in the second, and the insertion of equivalent pauses, are said to change the mode ; the same result is obtained in the third mode by the omission of the longest note, or in the fourth by the sacrifice of the two short ones. The change is sometimes said to be made by the omission of pauses ; the effect, however, is of course in either case the same, as will appear from the illustration.

Mode with <i>pausa debita</i> of complete foot.	Change by omission of part of pause.

The examples given by the author of *Ars Cantus Mensuralis* in illustration of this theory are as follows :—

FIRST MODE.

Ma - ris stel - la fer - vens

SECOND MODE.

O Ma - ri - a Ma - ter De - i Flos Odoris

Now it will be observed that in each of these fragments the passage which follows the pause presents, from its beginning with the initial value of another mode, the appearance of

a change of mode, and yet that in both cases the original rhythm, if we count the pause, flows on without interruption; we should therefore naturally conclude that the change here shown is rather apparent than real, for we have hitherto regarded the first and second modes as the converse of each other, and only to be alternated by a break in the rhythm. But the great theorist in giving these examples says distinctly and without qualification that the modes are changed by the pauses<sup>1</sup>, and he is supported by Jean de Garlande<sup>2</sup> and Walter Odington<sup>3</sup>. This is a somewhat embarrassing circumstance, for it is evident that, if the mode of the passage *fervens* shown above is really the second, and the pause is to be valued as part of the rhythm, then the second mode begins, not as has hitherto been supposed with a strong beat, but like the Iambic rhythm of the Ambrosian hymns, for instance, with a weak beat. This is a consequence of considerable magnitude, and one which, if it were accepted, would throw the whole of the mensural system, as we understand it, into confusion, for if we turn to the practical music of the time, we find that the independent parts cannot be reduced to score upon any other understanding than that which is in fact definitely established by many passages in the treatises themselves, namely that the

<sup>1</sup> 'Et nota pausationes mirabilem habere potestatem: nam per ipsas modi ad invicem transmutantur. . . . Unde si modus primus, qui procedit ex longa, et brevi, et longa, pausam post brevem longam habeat imperfectam, variatur modus in secundum. Si vero secundus pro longa nota pausam brevem assumat, variatur in primum.' *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis*, c. ix. 'De pausis, et quomodo per ipsas modi ad invicem variantur.' *Cousse. Script.* i. 126.

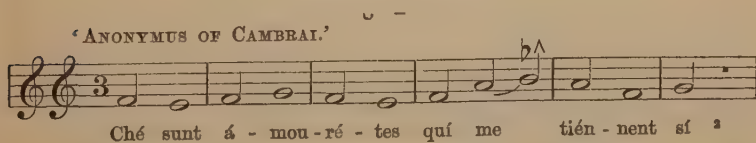
<sup>2</sup> De Garlande, in his chapter *De pausationibus*, divides pauses into perfect and imperfect, and defines them thus:—'Perfecta dicitur illa quando non transmutat modum propter sui adventum, sed equalem precedenti, quando advenit, representat. . . . Imperfecta dicitur illa que transmutat modum propter sui adventum.' *Ibid.* 181.

<sup>3</sup> 'Et hic modus (the second) sepe mutatur in primum imperfectum, cum longa pausa aufertur, et primus [in secundum] imperfectum pausa brevi ablata.' *Ibid.* 239, 240.

first note, whether long or short, of the rhythmic figure falls in all modes upon the strong beat of the *perfectio* or 'bar' of three times.

We see therefore already some cause for doubt whether the language employed by the theorists with regard to this method is to be taken quite literally, and with all the consequences which it implies ; but there is still another point of view in which the subject may be regarded, which will afford an additional reason. The composers of this period were exceedingly careful of the natural accent of the words to which their music was set, and the strong and weak accents of the text were made, in the vast majority of cases, to correspond exactly to the musical mode of rhythm employed : yet if we look for a moment at Franco's examples *Maris stella* and *O Maria*, we shall see that a weak beat upon the first note of the second mode would give *fervéns* and *O Máriá matér déi*, which is the reverse of the natural accent. The correspondence which actually existed in the music of this period between the accent of the words and the musical rhythm is illustrated in the following example, and a glance at it will probably be sufficient to confirm us in our belief that the rhythmic figure of the second mode begins, like those of all the others, with a strong beat <sup>1</sup>.

## SECOND MODE.



<sup>1</sup> This example is from the compositions given by M. de Coussemaker from the Montpellier MS. in *L'Art Harmonique*, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Having given the general rule, which holds good for fifty of the fifty-one pieces taken from the Montpellier MS., we are bound to mention the single exception, No. 24 in M. de Coussemaker's excerpts. This is a combination of two French songs supported by a ground or recurring phrase,

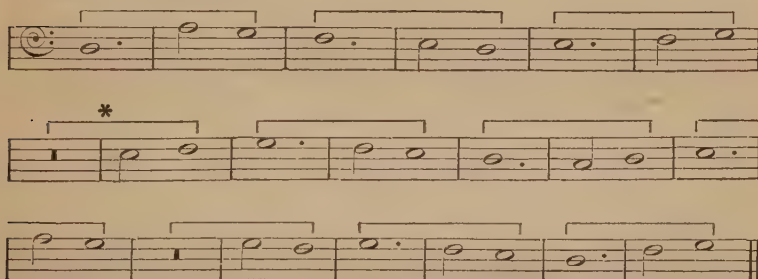
But although we may be said to have rejected the notion that the initial of the second mode can have been taken in the learned music upon the weak beat, we have still to reckon with the fact that the pause of transmutation, if counted in the rhythm, does actually throw the first note after the change upon that beat, and is in fact inconsistent with any other form of the second mode. And at present there appears to be only one way out of this difficulty, namely to suppose that the pause is not counted. If the pause, notwithstanding its apparent time value, could be either regarded as a mere substitute for the stroke or point of division and as implying no cessation of sound, or understood as the equivalent of the *pausa debita* of the mode which represents the value of the foot of rhythm, not only should we then be able to reconcile our original idea of the second mode with the plain statement of the theorists that the modes are altered by the pause, but the natural accents of the words, which are dislocated in almost all cases if we suppose a weak initial beat, will fall into their proper places in relation to the melody.

But returning from this long digression, we have to consider for a moment, before passing from the subject of rhythm, a few more characteristic examples of interchange of mode. In those of the third and fourth modes which here follow, from Jean de Garlande, we may notice that though the trans-

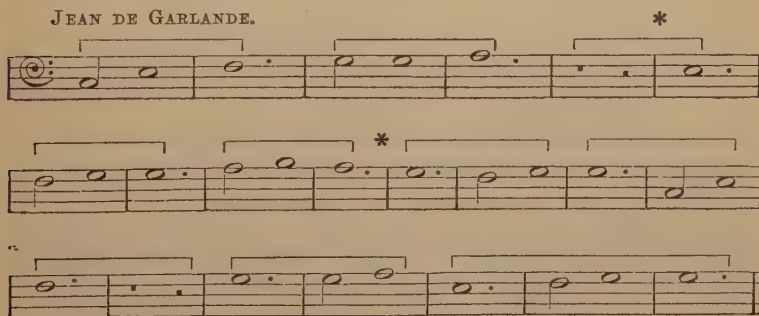
all the voices beginning together upon the weak beat, proceeding by alternate long and breve, and changing the mode in the manner referred to by the theorists ; the accent of words and notes, however, agreeing perfectly. It is clear therefore that music corresponding, as regards the rhythm, to that supposed in Franco's second example, did exist, and may even perhaps have existed in considerable quantity in popular and Troubadour music, for the rhythm is of course very old. But since its scarcity in compositions in parts is evident, we can hardly accept it as the second mode referred to by the theorists which would seem to be a regular and prevailing one ; at the most we should be disposed to regard it as an irregular form, suitable only for melody or for employment in parts unmixed with any other rhythm.

mutation is again independent of the given pause, the application of the pause as part of the rhythm raises no difficult questions such as have just been discussed in the case of the first and second modes. This is due to the fact that the pauses which are here said to effect the transmutation cannot give rise to a weak beat upon the beginning of either figure; for the complete figures of the third and fourth modes are spread in each case over two 'perfections' or bars of three times, each perfection beginning of course with a strong beat; and, since the change cuts the figure in half, the note next following the change must necessarily begin upon the strong beat of a perfection.

## JEAN DE GARLANDE.

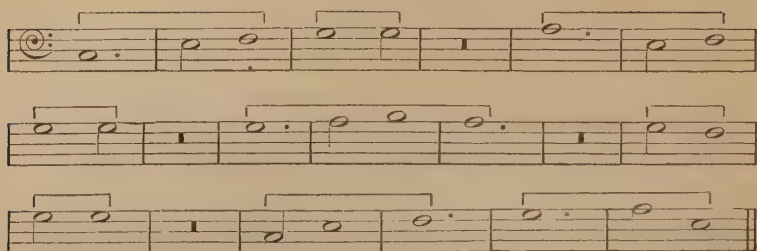


## JEAN DE GARLANDE.



The next example is a mixture of the first four modes, but since it begins and ends with the figure of the third, it is given as a variant of that mode by de Garlande :—





The building up of the method here described was the subject of a continuous effort extending apparently from the beginning of the twelfth century to the second half of the thirteenth, and carried on both in France and England, but chiefly in France, and at first especially by the musicians of Paris. Its earliest theoretical traces are to be found in two anonymous treatises, *Discantus Positio Vulgaris* already referred to above, and *De Musica Libellus*, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (MS. 6286), both of which probably date from the second half of the twelfth century. The method as it is displayed in these treatises is imperfect and elementary, but we are informed by a later writer, the Anonymus of the British Museum (Royal MSS.), whose historical sketches of this period constitute one of the most interesting features of his work, that more complete rules, relating both to notation and to the perfection and imperfection of longs and breves and the values of ligatures, were to be deduced from the compositions of Leo, or Léonin, chief musician as it is supposed of Notre Dame in Paris, contained in a great repertory of organum upon the Gradual and Antiphonary which was for many years preserved in the choir library of that cathedral; and these rules, we are also told, were again apparent, abbreviated and simplified, in the adaptations and compositions of Léonin's successor Pérotin, preserved in the same collection <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> 'Cognita modulatione melorum, secundum viam octo troporum, et secundum usum et consuetudinem fidei catholice, nunc habendum est de mensuris eorumdem, secundum longitudinem et brevitatem, prout antiqui

From this period onward improvement seems to have been rapid ; the advance may be observed in the treatises of Jean

tractaverunt, ut magister Leo et alii plurimi plenius iuxta ordines et colores eorundem ordinaverunt. . . . Ista regula utuntur in pluribus libris antiquorum, et hoc a parte et in suo tempore Perotini Magni ; sed nesciebant narrare ipsas cum quibusdam aliis postpositis, et semper a tempore Leonis pro parte, quoniam due ligate tunc temporis pro brevi longa ponebantur, et tres ligate simili modo in pluribus locis pro longa brevi, &c.

‘ Et nota quod magister Leoninus, secundum quod dicebatur, fuit optimus Organista, qui fecit magnum librum organi de Gradali et Antiphonario pro servitio divino multiplicando ; et fuit in usu usque ad tempus Perotini Magni, qui abbreviavit eumdem, et fecit clausulas sive puncta plurima meliora, quoniam optimus discantor erat, et melior quam Leoninus erat, &c. . . .’

The author then enumerates some of Perotin’s own compositions, and continues : ‘ Liber vel libri Magistri Perotini erant in usu usque ad tempus Magistri Roberti de Sabilone, et in choro Beate Virginis Maioris ecclesie Parisiis, et a suo tempore usque in hodiernum diem, simili modo, &c., prout Petrus notator optimus, et Iohannes dictus Primarius, cum quibusdam aliis, in maiori parte usque in tempus Magistri Franconis Primi et alterius Magistri Franconis de Colonia, qui inceperunt in suis libris aliter pro parte notare ; qua de causa alias regulas proprias suis libris appropriatas tradiderunt. . . . Abbreviatio erat facta per signa materialia a tempore Perotini Magni, et parum ante, et brevius docebant ; et adhuc brevius Magistri Roberti de Sabilone, quamvis spaciose docebat, sed nimis deliciose fecit melos canendo apparere. Qua de causa fuit valde laudandus Parisius, sicut fuit Magister Petrus Trothun, Aurelianus (*sic*), in cantu plano, sed de consideratione temporum parum nihil sciebat aut docebat ; sed Magister Robertus supradictus optime ea cognoscebat et fideliter docebat. Post ipsum, ex documento suo, fuit Magister Petrus, optimus notator, et nimis fideliter libros suos, secundum usum et consuetudinem magistri sui, et melius notabat. Ex tempore illo fuit qui vocabatur Thomas de Sancto Iuliano, Parisius antiquus ; sed non notabat ad modum illorum, sed bonus fuit secundum antiquiores. Quidam vero fuit alius Anglicus, et habebat modum Anglicanum notandi, et etiam in quadam parte docendi. Post ipsos et tempore suo fuit quidam Iohannes supradictus, et continuavit modos omnium supradictorum, usque ad tempus Magistri Franconis, cum quibusdam aliis magistris, sicut Magister Theobaldus Gallicus, et Magister Simon de Sacalia, cum quodam Magistro de Burgundia, ac etiam quodam Probo de Picardia cuius nomen erat Iohannes le Fauconer. Boni cantores erant in Anglia, et valde deliciose caneabant, sicut Magister Iohannes filius Dei ; sicut Makeblite apud Wynecestriam, et Blakesmit in curia domini regis Henrici ultimi.’ (Henry III.) *Cousse. Script.* i. 342 and 344.

The ‘ &c.’ which occurs so frequently in this MS. is to be accounted for

de Garlande and of Pseudo-Aristotle, both belonging to the beginning of the following century, and is seen to culminate in *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis* and the works of the Anonymus of the British Museum and of Walter Odington, which may be grouped between the years 1250 and 1320<sup>1</sup>. As might

by the apparent fact that the treatise was delivered in the form of lectures ; it would seem that at the ' &c.' the author abandoned the MS. for a time, and supplied comments and explanations extempore.

<sup>1</sup> It will be noticed that the account here given of the mensural theorists differs considerably from that hitherto received ; the order of succession indeed, in the group, remains much the same as before, but the group itself has been transposed to a period some sixty or seventy years later. This change is due to a consideration of the important facts brought forward by M. de Coussemaker (from M. Gatién-Arnoult, in the *Revue de Toulouse*, 1866), in the introduction to the third volume of his *Scriptorum*, &c., in 1869, respecting Jean de Garlande. Formerly this author was supposed to be identical with one Gerlandus, canon of Besançon about the middle of the twelfth century, but the identification rested on no better evidence than the approximate similarity of the name. M. Gatién-Arnoult however introduces us to a new personage, whose name is not approximately but exactly similar to that of the writer on music, and whose residence was chiefly in Paris, the centre of musical life. The Jean de Garlande of this account was an Englishman, and a student of Oxford, and must have been born about the year 1190. His English surname, if he possessed one, seems to be unknown ; that by which he is actually distinguished dates from the period of his migration to Paris (about 1210), and is derived from the place in which he there lived and taught, the *Clos de Garlande*, afterwards *Rue Gallande*. It is not known whether he ever returned to England ; we are told only that in 1218 he took up his abode in the University of Toulouse, and that his venture not succeeding he returned to Paris in 1232, and was still living there in 1245. It is true that this account does not actually connect its subject, who is known as a grammarian and poet, with the authorship of any work on music, and that the identity therefore of the Parisian teacher, and the author of the famous treatise *De Musica Mensurabili Positio* still remains only probable ; yet considering the principal circumstances, —the exact similarity of name, and the residence in Paris during a period of the highest musical activity,—the probability is considerable. Accepting this identification then as a guide to the date of de Garlande's treatise, it will appear that this might have been written, roughly speaking, at any time between the years 1210 and 1250 ; but since its doctrine, though in the main agreeing with the settled form, still retains a strong archaic tinge, the work cannot be very far removed from the twelfth century, and may therefore date from the period of de Garlande's

be supposed, the line of progress was in the direction of simplicity, both in the signs themselves and in their application to the expression of the current rhythms.

## II

### THE MUTUAL RELATIONS OF THE INDIVIDUAL VOICES.

The period with which we are at present engaged is marked, as regards the relations of the voices considered in their composite character, by several occurrences not less striking and important than those which we have seen affecting their conduct when considered separately. Chief among these is the revision of the theory of consonance and dissonance, by which this was brought into accordance with the practical methods of the artistic music.

Several examples of composition belonging apparently to the period during which the tentative rules of the *Discantus Positio Vulgaris* were gradually evolved, and in which is displayed the transition from poetic to musical measure, are to be found in various collections. Of these the earliest probably is a setting of the metrical sequence *Verbum bonum et suave*, of very early twelfth century date, which exists in a MS. now in the Library of Douai. It is noted in neumes of a simple first residence in Paris, that is to say not later than 1218. From this date we obtain the others given above in the text. The similarity between the methods revealed in the *Tractatus de Musica* of Pseudo-Aristotle and those of de Garlande fixes the date of that treatise as contemporary with his, while the settled and authoritative character of the teaching contained in *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis*, a character which could hardly have been developed in less than thirty years, suggests 1250 or thereabouts for the date of that work, and also for that of the treatise, so often copied and quoted by later writers as by 'Franco,' beginning *Gaudent brevitatem moderni. Quandocunque punctus quadratus*, &c. (see note to p. 62). If that date be accepted the Anonymus of the British Museum (Royal MSS.), who mentions the names of the two Francos, but none later, and who must therefore be almost if not quite a contemporary of those writers, may have written his admirable work about 1280. Odington's date is already approximately fixed, since we know that he was still living in Oxford in 1316.

character, upon a large stave, and with clefs ; there are six verses of words and three of music, each verse of music being once repeated to different words ; the first, third, and sixth are here given, and all the music. It will be noticed that the composition contains instances of the equivalence of four breves to the triple long, mentioned in the early treatise <sup>1</sup>.

VERBUM BONUM ET SUAVE.

Library of Douai. *Histoire de l'Harmonie au Moyen Âge* (Coussemaker)  
Monuments, Pl. XXIV, XXV.

1. Ver - - bum bo - num et su - a - ve

8 3-1 3 1 4 1 3 5

Per - so - ne - mus il - lud A - - - - ve

3 1 3 5 8 8 8-6 8

Per quod Chris - ti fit con - cla - ve

5 3-1 5 1 1 5 4, 3 1

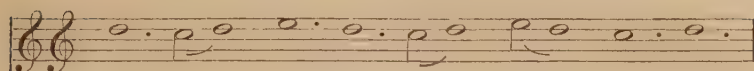
Λ

Vir - go ma - ter . . . fi - - li - - a.

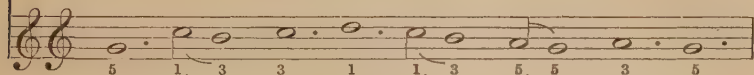
4 1. 2 3 5, 4 3 1 1

<sup>1</sup> See note to p. 59.

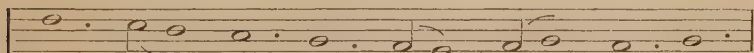




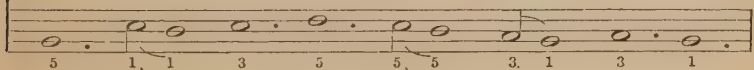
3. A - ve ve - ri Sa - lo - - , mo - nis,



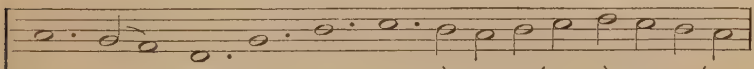
5 1, 3 3 1 1, 3 5, 5 3 5



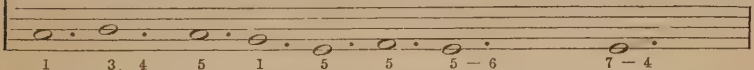
Ma - ter vel - lus Ge - - de - - o - nis



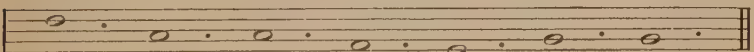
5 1, 1 3 5 5, 5 3. 1 3 1



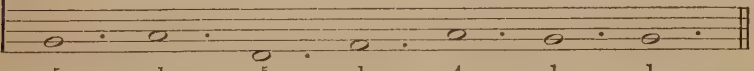
Cu - ius ma - gi tri - bus do - - - - nis . . . .



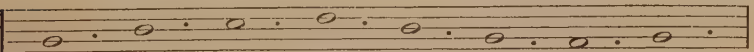
1 3, 4 5 1 5 5 5 - 6 7 - 4



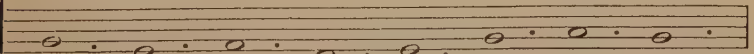
Lau - dant pu - er - pe - ri - um.



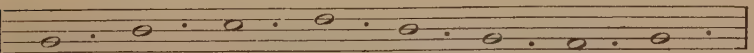
5 1 5 1 4 1 1



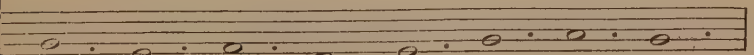
6. Sup - pli - ca - mus nos e - men - da



1 5 5 8 5 1 3 1



E - men - da - tos nos com - men - da



1 5 5 8 5 1 3 1

Tu - o na - - - to ad ha - ben - - - da

1 3 5-3 5 8 8 6 6 5 7-8

Sem - pi - ter - na gau - di - a.

3 1 3 5 3 1 1

It would appear from this example that the learned doctrine of the New Organum had not been altogether without effect upon the work of the practical artistic composers. Theoretical dissonances are not now abolished, it is true, but a method is introduced into their treatment which certainly indicates an approach towards the theoretical position, and an appreciation of its leading principle. It will be observed that the inconsonant intervals are no longer treated with the same freedom as in our former examples, even the thirds for instance being not consecutive, but in all cases (except one) both preceded and followed by one of the orthodox concords; and in this circumstance we may perhaps perceive a confession of the theoretically inconsonant nature of the interval. And, as we shall see, the principle of treatment here indicated is carried further in its application, and becomes more clear, in the specimens which immediately follow; for in these compositions it is displayed not only in a rule of avoiding consecutive dissonances, but also in the fact that the guarded dissonances which are allowed now fall exclusively upon the weak beat of the rhythm. If therefore the method of the piece just given was in some degree an approach towards the learned theory, this method of the rather later examples is still more so, for

it is a confession of the practically unsuitable character of these intervals as compared with consonances, since the composer now admits that they are to be treated lightly, and to be passed over with less emphasis than the entirely satisfying orthodox concords.

The change just described is well shown in a little composition (dating apparently from the early years of the twelfth century, though written in a later hand) now in the Library of Lille, and given in facsimile by M. de Coussemaker in his *Histoire de l'Harmonie au Moyen Âge*. It may be translated as follows :—

# AGNUS FILI VIRGINIS.

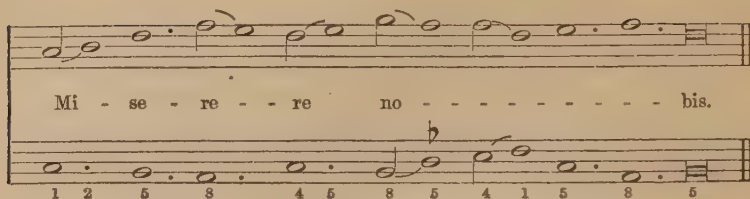
Library of Lille, *Histoire de l'Harmonie au Moyen Âge* (Coussemaker),  
Monuments, Pl. XXVI.

Ag - nus fi - li vir - gi - nis

Pri - mi . . lap - sum . . ho - - mi - - nis

Res - tau - rans per san - - - gui - - - nis

Tu - i . . sanc - ti . . . pas - cu - - - um



It may be well, before passing on, to draw attention to the chromatic alterations suggested in the upper part of this example. These are in accordance with the rule for *falsa musica* at this period, which enjoined that the imperfect fifth and the tritone fourth, occurring as intervals, or simultaneously in a situation requiring concord, should be made perfect by chromatic extension or diminution<sup>1</sup>; the considerations which guided musicians in the application of this rule in discant were chiefly such as already governed the alteration of plainsong, namely, care for the melody.

Our next example is especially interesting, for it is not only a very primitive specimen of writing in three parts, but contains also the earliest attempt at present known to produce imitations by one voice of passages uttered by another. It is probably of the same date as our last illustration, since the method of notation is the same in both : all single notes, that is to say, are of the same value, and the groups are equal to the notes, single or otherwise, to which they are opposed. It will

<sup>1</sup> ' Et ideo oritur questio ex hoc quod videlicet que fuit necessitas in musica considerari de falsa musica, sive de falsa mutatione, cum nullum regulare debeat accipere falsum, sed potius verum. At quod dicendum est quod mutatio falsa, sive falsa musica, non est inutilis, imo est necessaria propter bonam consonantiam inveniendam et malam vitandam. Nam sic dictum est : si velimus habere diapente, de necessitate oportet quod habeamus tres tonos cum semitonio ; ita quod si aliqua figura sit in *b fa*,  $\sharp$  *mi* (B), et alia in *fa ut* (F) acuto per naturam, tunc non est ibi consonantia, sed dissonantia cum semitonio duplici. Verumtamen potest fieri ibidem per falsam musicam quam appellamus, scilicet quando facimus de semitonio tonum, vel e converso ; non tamen falsa musica, sed inusitata.' *Anonymus of the Library of S. Dié* (Cousse. Script. i. 314).

be observed that again a large number of discords, including several tritone fourths, appear upon the weak beats of the rhythm, while with five exceptions, four of which are thirds and sixths, the strong beats are marked by concord.

CUSTODI NOS.

Bib. Nat. Paris MS. 813, *Histoire de l'Harmonie au Moyen Âge* (Coussemaker),  
Monuments, Pl. XXVII.

The first system of musical notation consists of three staves. The top two staves are in treble clef, and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The music is written in a medieval style with square neumes on a four-line staff. The rhythm is indicated by a 'C' time signature. The lyrics 'Cus - to - - di nos do - - mi - ne' are written below the bottom staff. There are two accents (^) above the notes for 'di' and 'mi'.

Cus - to - - di nos do - - mi - ne

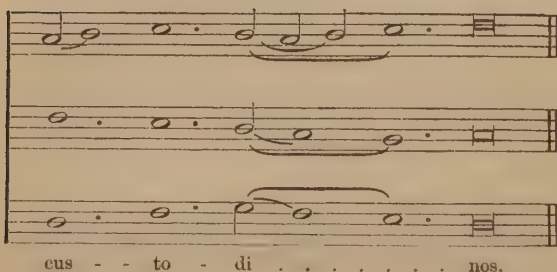
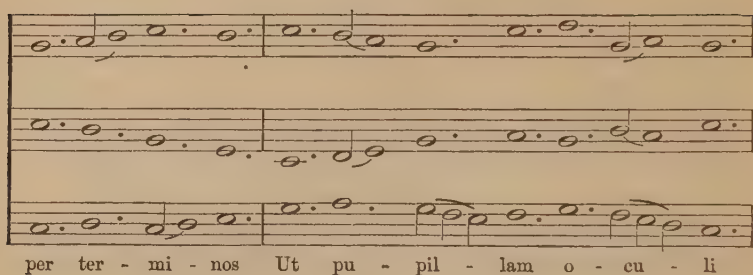
The second system of musical notation consists of three staves. The top two staves are in treble clef, and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The music is written in a medieval style with square neumes on a four-line staff. The rhythm is indicated by a 'C' time signature. The lyrics 'sub a - - - la - - rum . . teg - - mi - - ne' are written below the bottom staff. There are two accents (^) above the notes for 'la' and 'te'.

sub a - - - la - - rum . . teg - - mi - - ne

The third system of musical notation consists of three staves. The top two staves are in treble clef, and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The music is written in a medieval style with square neumes on a four-line staff. The rhythm is indicated by a 'C' time signature. The lyrics 'Cus - to - di nos Om - nes hu - ius se - cu - li' are written below the bottom staff.

Cus - to - di nos Om - nes hu - ius se - cu - li





The lowest voice still takes the theme—here probably some well-known hymn or spiritual song ; the part next above is composed with direct and sole reference to this, and obeys therefore the rules of two-part composition ; the upper part or *triplum* is an added voice, governed now by one of the lower parts and now by the other, both as regards the nature of its intervals and the character of its movement <sup>1</sup>. And here again it is interesting to observe that rules which in substance remained in force for three-part compositions throughout the period next following are to be found clearly recognized in this early specimen. Concerning the passages of imitation, it is difficult to say to what their appearance in the music of this time is due, unless they may be supposed to represent the

<sup>1</sup> ‘ Qui autem triplum voluerit operari, respiciendum est tenorem et discantum, ita quod si discordat cum tenore, non discordat cum discantu, vel converso ; et procedat ulterius per concordantias, nunc ascendendo cum tenore vel descendendo, nunc cum discantu, ita quod non semper cum altero tantum.’ *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis* (Cousse. Script. i. 132).

partial development of accident; their principle, so far as it was understood, was afterwards displayed in a special form of composition called the 'Rondel,' but in general music the use of imitation is not frequent. Its full significance was not in fact perceived until a much later period.

We have already seen that the artistic music may be said to have formerly yielded something to theory in its practical rule, gradually evolved, of excluding dissonance from a position upon the strong beat of the rhythm: it was now the turn of theory to make concessions, and to admit to a position upon the strong beat, and therefore among the consonances, intervals which had hitherto, from the beginning of things, been reckoned as dissonant.

The first of these intervals to be admitted were the major and minor third. Probably a practical demand for their admission, shown in a tendency during the transitional period to employ them upon the strong beat—as for instance in our example *Custodi nos*, at p. 85—already existed, but our knowledge of the practical work of this period is so small that this cannot be affirmed with certainty. As regards the fact itself of their admission, for which we must of course look to the learned writers, we find that the earliest existing treatise, *Discantus Positio Vulgaris*, makes no mention of it<sup>1</sup>, and from this we may perhaps conclude that about the middle of the twelfth century, which is the probable date of this treatise, the position of the thirds was at all events still doubtful; in the little treatise *De Musica Libellus*, however, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (MS. 6286), a work which

<sup>1</sup> The view of this author is singularly unsystematic, and in this respect differs equally from that of his predecessors and of his successors. He says: 'Inter concordantias autem tres sunt ceteris meliores, scilicet unisonus, diapente, et diapason. Ceteri vero modi magis sunt dissonantie quam consonantie; tamen secundum magis et minus, unde maior videtur dissonantia in tono, quam in aliquo alio modo.' *Cousse. Script.* i. 98.

cannot be much if at all later than 1180, and therefore not far removed in date from *Discantus Positio Vulgaris*, we find the thirds definitely admitted among the consonances. 'It is to be observed,' says this author, 'that the unison and octave are *perfect* consonances; the *major and minor third imperfect*; the fourth and fifth *intermediate* <sup>1</sup>.' It would seem probable therefore that at some time during the second half of the twelfth century, between the dates of these two treatises, the practical employment of the third as a consonance began to be accepted by theory as possibly, even if not demonstrably, reasonable. It is evident however that these intervals were not admitted without qualification, and that a real and important difference between them and the classical concords was still seen to exist, and was strongly insisted upon; for in order to receive them the theory was recast, and the great distinction between perfect and imperfect consonance, which still prevails in our own day, was invented.

The theoretical division of consonance into three species, invented probably, as has been said, for the purpose of justifying an incorrigible practice, is set forth, with all the parade of scientific accuracy which distinguishes the more voluminous theorists, by Jean de Garlande <sup>2</sup>; and his ac-

<sup>1</sup> 'Notandum est, quod unisonus et diapason sunt consonantie perfecte; *ditonus et semiditonus sunt imperfecte*; diatessaron et diapente dicuntur medie.' Ibid. 382.

<sup>2</sup> 'Concordantiarum triplex est modus, quia quedam sunt perfecte, quedam imperfecte, quedam vero medie. Perfecta dicitur, quando due voces iunguntur in eodem tempore, ita quod una, secundum auditum, non percipitur ab alia propter concordantiam, et dicitur equisonantia, ut in unisono et diapason. Imperfecte autem dicuntur, quando due voces iunguntur ita, quod una ex toto percipitur ab alia secundum auditum et concordantiam; et sunt due species, scilicet ditonus et semiditonus. Medie autem dicuntur, quando due voces iunguntur in eodem tempore, que neque dicuntur perfecte neque imperfecte; sed partim conveniunt cum perfectis et partim cum imperfectis; et sunt due species, scilicet diapente et diatessaron. Sic apparet quod sex sunt species concordantie, scilicet, unisonus, diapason, diapente, diatessaron, semiditonus, ditonus.

count is practically repeated in substance in *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis*, which displays the settled and authoritative system of the middle of the thirteenth century. The author of the latter work, however, adds some further distinctions :—‘ The unison is more concordant than the octave, the minor third than the major third, and the fifth than the fourth. Also, both the perfect and intermediate species of consonance are more concordant than the imperfect <sup>1</sup>,’

A change also took place at this time in the theoretical position of the major and minor sixth. These intervals, though not as yet perceived as consonant, were now no longer classed with the intolerable dissonances,—such as the second, the tritone, and the seventh, which were only allowed as passing notes not affecting the discant,—but were recognized as not disagreeable to the ear, and fit to be employed independently, provided that they were supported on both sides by consonance, and placed moreover in a situation in which they would attract little attention and be lightly passed over, that is to say upon the weak time of the perfection, or beat of three times. In order to express this view the theorists invented a division of the dissonances corresponding to that already employed for the consonances. That of Jean de Garlande, for instance, is again triple, and again displays perfect, imperfect, and intermediate degrees <sup>2</sup>; while the author of *Ars Cantus*

Et dicuntur genera generalissima omnium concordantiarum.’ *Cousse. Script. i.* 104.

<sup>1</sup> ‘ Concordantiarum quedam perfecte, ut unisonus qui fit una littera, et diapason ; quedam imperfecte, ut semiditonus et ditonus ; quedam vero medie ut diapente vel diatessaron. Harum omnium concordantiarum, prima concordat melius quam secunda, ut unisonus melius quam diapason, et semiditonus quam ditonus, et diapente quam diatessaron. Item perfecta concordantia melius concordat quam imperfecta ; media melius concordat quam imperfecta concordantia.’ *Cousse. Script. i.* 136.

<sup>2</sup> ‘ Discordantiarum quedam dicuntur perfecte, quedam imperfecte, quedam vero medie. Perfecte dicuntur, quando due voces non iunguntur aliquo modo secundum compassionem vocum, ita quod, secundum

*Mensurabilis* is content with two divisions, combining the perfect of de Garlande with the intermediate <sup>1</sup>. From these writers we gather that the introduction of the change was gradual, and that while at first the major sixth belonged to the order of imperfect or tolerable dissonances, the minor sixth was still regarded as impossible. Other writers, however, go further in the direction of concession. The Anonymus of the Library of S. Dié, whose treatise is of the Franco-nian period, brings the major sixth into consonance <sup>2</sup>. 'The imperfect consonances,' he says, 'are the major and minor third, good between fifth and fifth, or in coming from fifth to unison, or the reverse, and the major sixth which is good before an octave.' Finally, the Anonymus of the Bibliothèque Nationale, *fonds Latin*, 14741, writing in the old French vernacular before the close of the thirteenth century <sup>3</sup>,

auditum una non possit compati cum alia. Et iste sunt tres species, scilicet semitonium, tritonus, ditonus cum diapente. Imperfecte dicuntur, quando due voces iunguntur ita, quod secundum auditum vel possunt aliquo modo compati, tamen non concordant. Et sunt due species, scilicet tonus cum diapente et semiditonus cum diapente. . . . Medie dicuntur, quando due voces iunguntur ita, quod partim conveniunt cum perfectis, partim cum imperfectis. Et iste sunt due species, scilicet tonus et semitonium cum diapente.' *Ibid.* 105.

<sup>1</sup> The author, after his description of the concords, continues: 'Omne alie consonantie dicuntur discordantie; quarum discordantiarum alie sunt perfecte, alie imperfecte. Perfecte vero discordantie non possunt sumi in aliquo discantu; et sunt quatuor; semitonium, tritonus, ditonus cum diapente, semitonium cum diapente. Imperfecte vero possunt sumi in aliquo discantu, et hoc est ante perfectam concordantiam immediate subsequentem; et sunt tres (*sic*), scilicet tonus cum diapente, semiditonus cum diapente.' *Ibid.* 136.

<sup>2</sup> 'Imperfecte sunt ditonus et semiditonus, que sunt bone veniendo a diapente in diapente, vel a diapente ad unisonum, et e converso, et tonus cum diapente, que est bona ante diapason.' *Cousse. Script.* i. 312.

<sup>3</sup> 'Et ne doit on point faire ne dire ii quintes ne deulx doubles, l'une après l'autre, ne monter ne descendre avec sa teneur, car ils sont parfaits; mais par accors imparfaits, *tierces et sixtes*, peut on bien monter ou descendre ii ou iii notes ou plus ce besoing est, mais que ce soit sur notes appendans,' &c. *Ibid.* iii. 497. The progression of consecutive sixths in



and the Anonymus of the British Museum (Royal MSS.)<sup>1</sup> belonging to the same period, both bring the minor sixth also into the consonant genus, classing it of course with the major interval in the imperfect species.

This important change in the theoretical rules of discant, might very well be ascribed, even entirely, to a general recognition of the pleasant sound of the intervals of the third and sixth, gradually revealed by experiment with both voices and instruments ; and in any case the improvement must have been largely due to such means. But a special cause has of late been suggested as preponderant, and deserves examination.

In this most recent view, put forward by Dr. Hugo Riemann<sup>2</sup>, the change was due to the influence of the English practice, and more especially of those native popular methods of part-singing in this country, of which some account was given by Giraldus de Barri in the twelfth century, in his *Cambriae Descriptio*. Notwithstanding the vagueness of the account given by Giraldus (the only author by whom any reference to the popular part-singing is made), Dr. Riemann feels justified in assuming as probable that the English methods consisted in uniform progressions of thirds and sixths. He bases this assumption chiefly upon the fact that the English are known to have been at a later period actually in possession of such methods, peculiar to themselves ; and he sees in these later methods—in the Gymel or two-part organizing in thirds, and in the Faulxbordon or three-part organizing in thirds and sixths, with which we first make acquaintance in the works of Chilston, Leonel Power, and Gulielmus Monachus, all writing

conjunct movement (appendans) of course proves that both the major and minor intervals are now included in the author's 'accors imparfais.'

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. i. 358.

<sup>2</sup> *Geschichte der Musiktheorie im IX.-XIX. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1898.

towards the close of the fourteenth century—the survival or continuation of the methods described by Giraldus. These early methods then, which it is assumed consisted of progressions of thirds and sixths, becoming known in France, are supposed to have powerfully affected the artistic discant, the chief seat of which was in France, and especially in Paris.

It would be pleasant no doubt to us in England to think that elements of harmonic beauty of so much importance as these were supplied to music by the native instinct of our forefathers ; but for that very reason, if for no other, we are bound to inquire carefully into the character of the evidence on which the hypothesis rests. What in fact do we actually gather from the account given by Giraldus ? The usual method, he tells us, of popular singing in Britain, as elsewhere, was in unison ; but two special and exceptional kinds of treatment existed amongst us, one in Wales and the other in Northumberland. Speaking of the Welsh, he says : ‘ In their musical songs they do not utter the tunes uniformly, as is usual elsewhere, but manifoldly, and in many manners and many notes ; so that in a multitude of singers, such as it is the custom of this people to bring together, as many songs are to be heard as there are singers to be seen, and a various diversity of parts, finally coming together in one consonance and organic melody under the smooth sweetness of B flat<sup>1</sup>.’ Two conclusions may safely be drawn from this account ; first, that these performances were conducted in the scales of F or G with the B flat, and second, that the part-singing can have had nothing to do with either Gymel or Faulxbordon, and

<sup>1</sup> ‘ In musico modulamine non uniformiter ut alibi, sed multipliciter multisque modis et modulis cantilenas emittunt, adeo ut in turba canentium, sicut huic genti mos est, quot videas capita tot audias carmina, discriminaque vocum varia, in unam denique sub B mollis dulcedine blanda consonantiam et organicam convenientiam melodiam.’ *Cambriae Descriptio*, cap. xiii.

must have been allied rather to the old attempts to extemporize discant in many parts than to the methods of uniform progression which are proper to organizing. The Northumbrian practice, on the other hand, consisted in a distinct two-part song, which may therefore possibly have borne some relation to the later Gymel; but the account unfortunately gives no information with respect to the intervals employed, nor even informs us whether they were mixed or uniform. Giraldus says only that the performance consisted of 'not more than two differences of tone or varieties of pitch in the voices, one murmuring the lower part, the other the upper, in a manner at once soothing and delightful <sup>1</sup>.' The only special reference to the use of thirds in England is in the treatise of the Anonymus of the British Museum (Royal MSS.), written at the end of the thirteenth century, which mentions that they were allowed in the sense of concords by the best musicians of several countries, and among others by some of the English 'organists' <sup>2</sup>; the fact however is there connected, not with the Northumbrian song, but with the artistic practice of the West of England, and it is difficult to connect this with the methods described by Giraldus. Indeed it may be said that no known documents exist which can with any show of probability associate the use of thirds and sixths with the popular practice, or which represent it as at any time exclusively English.

<sup>1</sup> 'In borealibus quoque maioris Britanniae partibus trans Humbrum, Eboracique finibus Anglorum populi qui partes illas inhabitant simili canendo symphonica utuntur harmonia; binis tamen solummodo tonorum differentiis et vocum modulando varietatibus, una inferius submurmurante, altera vero superne demulcente pariter et delectante.' Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> 'Ditonus et semiditonus apud aliquos non sic (i.e. pro concordantiis imperfectis) reputantur. Tamen apud organistas optimos, et prout in quibusdam terris, sicut in Anglia, in patria que dicitur Westcuntre, optime concordantie dicuntur, quoniam apud tales magis sunt in usu.' *Cousse. Script.* i. 358.

Considering then the difficulty at present of tracing the origin of Gymel and Faulxbordon in the English popular practice of the twelfth century, and considering also the fact that neither the Anonymus just quoted, nor Jean de Garlande, nor Walter Odington, all of whom were Englishmen, or were at all events well acquainted with the methods of this country, make any mention of our supposed habit at this period of organizing in thirds and sixths—though in view of the new use of these intervals in French discant mention of such a practice, had it existed, would seem to be not inappropriate,—we must as yet hold it at least doubtful whether our country can really lay claim to any special share in the introduction of thirds and sixths among the musical concords.

The appearance of the new intervals of discant was necessarily accompanied by new rules for the movement of the individual voices ; and these, like the intervals themselves, were introduced gradually. Their final form is perhaps best displayed in the short statement of the Anonymus of the Bibliothèque Nationale<sup>1</sup>, in his little treatise in the old French vernacular already referred to, a work which may profitably be compared with the older vernacular statement of rules, in the same library, printed by de Coussemaker in his *Histoire de l'Harmonie au Moyen Âge*, and described at p. 46 of the present volume. Both treatises belong rather to the practical than to the theoretical side of musical literature, consisting in fact of not much more than authoritative directions with respect to the best method of composing in two parts ; and a comparison reveals very clearly the extent of the enlargement of musical resources which resulted from the introduction of thirds and sixths.

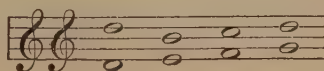
The author of the later treatise gives at the outset special rules for the treatment of the new intervals : ‘ The minor

<sup>1</sup> *Cousse. Script.* iii. 497.

third,' he says, 'requires the unison after it, the major third the fifth, the minor sixth the fifth, and the major sixth the octave.' It is worthy of remark that the imperfect character of the new consonances is clearly indicated in these regulations with respect to their progression, which is already perceived as limited by a certain natural insufficiency in the intervals themselves which requires their passage to a perfect consonance, and by an inherent tendency moreover to resolve into perfect consonance in one direction rather than in another. Thus the major third and major sixth are seen as tending to an 'outward' resolution, while the minor third and minor sixth proceed most naturally in the opposite direction.



But the natural progression of the imperfect consonances may be delayed by a parallel movement of the voices, continuing the interval, provided that the movement be conjunct, and not continued for more than three notes. This indeed is the only kind of parallel movement now permitted, that of perfect consonances being expressly forbidden in this treatise.<sup>1</sup> It is not improbable therefore that, in the new allowance, we may see the later equivalent of the permission to move in parallel fifths which was accorded by the older discant<sup>2</sup> when the persistent conjunct movement of the tenor in a given direction rendered a continuance of contrary motion impossible. It will be remembered, for instance, that upon a tenor proceeding upwards by degrees the old method requires the following progression :



<sup>1</sup> See note on *notes appendans*, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 46.



Now in the case here shown the temptation to come to A in the discant upon the tenor F, and thus to continue the contrary movement, must have been considerable, and experiment would soon reveal the agreeable effect, not only of this progression, but also of the continuance of thirds in parallel movement instead of the old fifths. And this treatment is in fact commonly enjoined in the work which we are at present considering ; for instance :—‘ If the tenor ascends four degrees then it must be accompanied by (a) octave, fifth, third, unison, in a closing passage, and (b) octave, fifth or (c) third, followed by two thirds, if the passage continues ;’ thus :—

(a) (b) (c)

A possibly later form of treatment introduces the sixth :—

In descending passages these methods were practically reversed :—

Opening passages.



Here apparently the harmonic view of the authentic and plagal cadences is clearly indicated.

It should be added that although the date of this method is perhaps most suitably placed about the close of the thirteenth century, its principles appear to be somewhat in advance of those which prevail in the compositions of that period so far as we know them, and we may perhaps therefore suppose that the practice which it represents is not so much that of the learned musicians as that of the extempore discanters of the time. Innovation and experiment, indeed, were marked characteristics of the extempore practice throughout the earlier polyphonic period, and many improvements derived from the suggestions of this practice were, after due observation of their effect, adopted and incorporated in the orthodox system of music. We may suppose therefore, from a comparison of this method with the written compositions of the time, that the close of the century found several existing improvements still unaccepted by the theorists ; the learned writers remaining generally unconvinced of the merit of progressions containing parallel imperfect intervals, and at the same time disinclined to give up the parallel perfect intervals which had been hitherto freely used, and which were indeed strongly characteristic of their system.

Having now described the various means developed by musicians during the early mensural period, we may proceed to consider the method of their application in the production of an artistic result. This method, in its general aspect, was exceedingly simple, and may be described in a few words. The elements of measured composition were still the same as those of Organum, a given subject, or Tenor, and a discant upon it ; but not only was the subject now measured, but it also displayed a strongly rhythmical character, due to its complete arrangement in some one of the recognized metrical

modes. The discant also was conducted entirely in a metrical mode, though not necessarily that of the subject, and was governed in its relations with the subject chiefly by one rule, namely, that in all modes, at the beginning or strong beat of each measure or 'perfection,' the voices must be in consonance<sup>1</sup>. No rule was given for the weak beats, which might be either in consonance or not<sup>2</sup>, but from the works of the best composers of this time we find that consonance was in fact usually preferred throughout.

Probably the most striking and characteristic, though not actually the most enduring, feature of this method is the system of metrical modes, controlling both subject and discant, and imparting a special and unvarying character to the music. An account of these formulae and of their influence upon notation has already been given at some length in this work, and the important part which they played in the general construction of mensurable melody was then probably sufficiently demonstrated. It is indeed evident, both from the treatises and from the compositions themselves, that no other method of arranging musical sounds was considered as strictly proper to the system of the thirteenth century, and that these rhythmical figures in fact constituted, during this period, the actual foundation and vital form of the work. It may be well therefore, before proceeding to examples of composition, to devote a short space to the consideration of the most usual

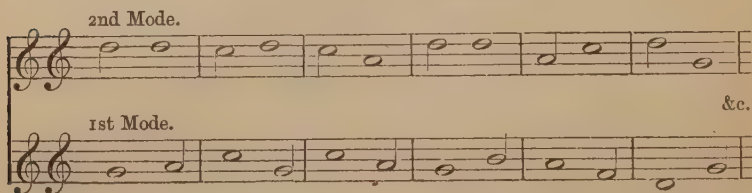
<sup>1</sup> 'Item intelligendum est quod in omnibus modis utendum est semper concordantiis in principio perfectionis, licet sit longa, brevis, vel semibrevis.' *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis* (Cousse. Script. i. 132).

<sup>2</sup> 'Omnia puncta imparia primi modi (first note, third, fifth, &c.) sunt longa et cum tenore concordare debent. Reliquia vero paria indifferenter ponuntur.' Anon., B. M. (Royal MSS.), *Cousse. Script. i. 356*.

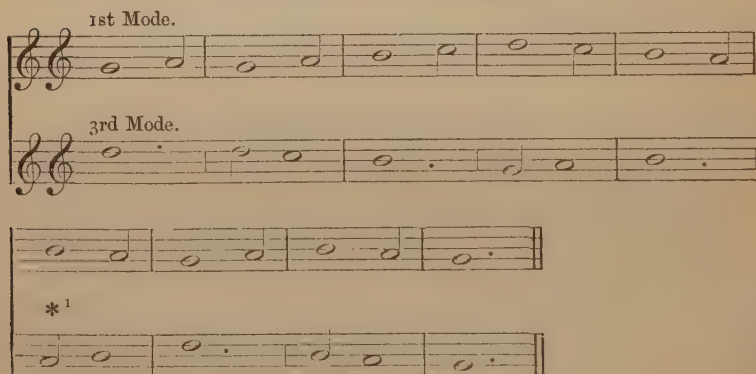
It should however be mentioned that, from the compositions themselves, we find that the obligation of consonance was only enforced, in the dactylic and anapaestic rhythms, at the beginning of alternate perfections, that is to say at the beginning of each foot of metre.

combinations of the modes, arising out of their simultaneous employment by two voices in discant. The examples here given are taken from the treatise of Jean de Garlande, where a long and profusely illustrated chapter is devoted to the subject.

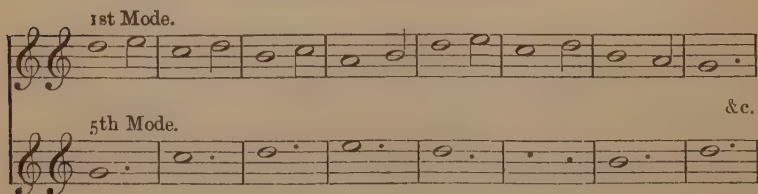
## TROCHEE AND IAMBUS.



## TROCHEE AND DACTYL.



## TROCHEE AND MOLOSSUS.

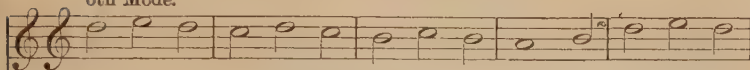


<sup>1</sup> The dissonance of the second upon the strong beat, to which attention is here drawn, will be met with again occasionally in these examples; it was inserted deliberately for the sake of ornament (*color*) and always takes this form of a kind of *appoggiatura* proceeding to the note itself with which it is discordant.

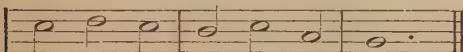
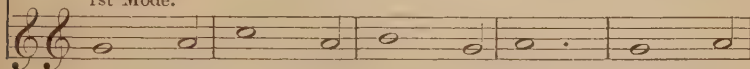


TROCHEE AND TRIBRACH.

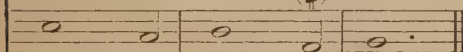
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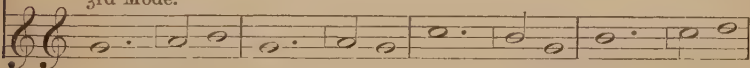


IAMBUS AND DACTYL.

2nd Mode.



3rd Mode.

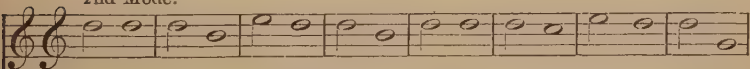


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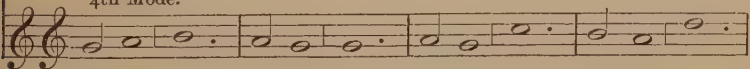
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IAMBUS AND ANAPAEST.

2nd Mode.



4th Mode.

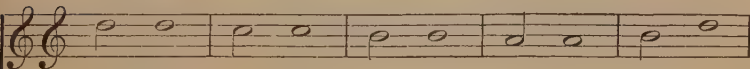


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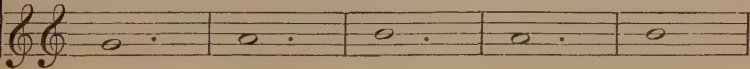
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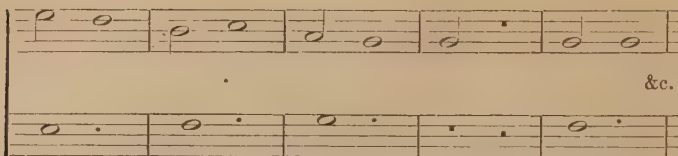
IAMBUS AND MOLOSSUS.

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5th Mode.



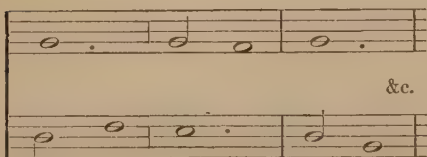


## IAMBUS AND TRIBRACH.

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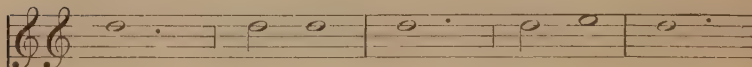
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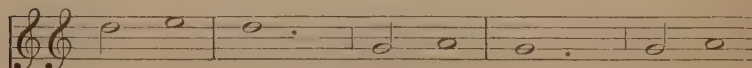
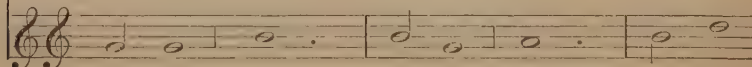
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## DACTYL AND ANAPAEST.

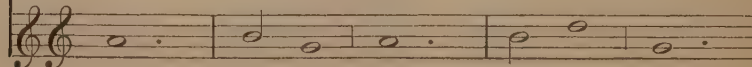
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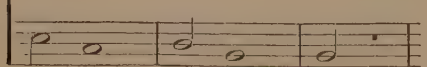
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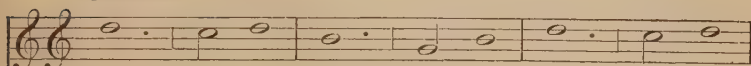


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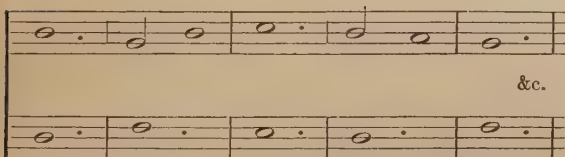


DACTYL AND MOLOSSUS.

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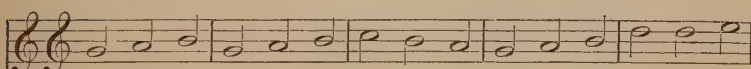


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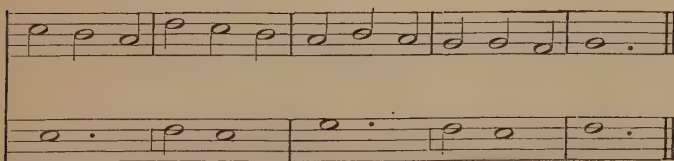
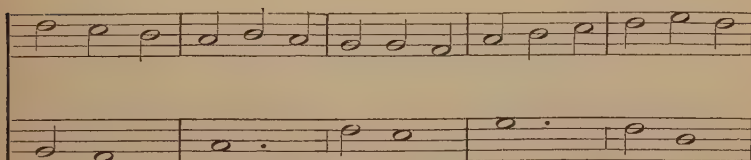
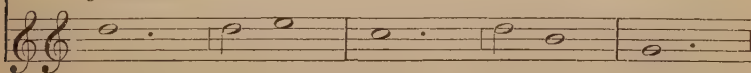


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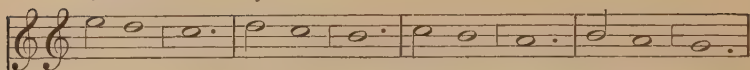


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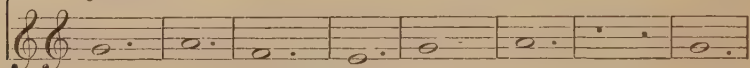
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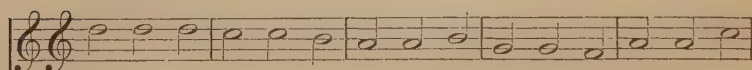
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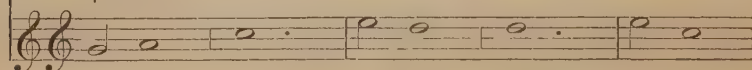


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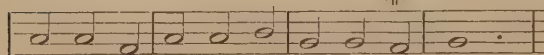
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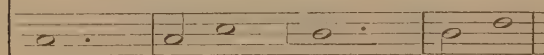
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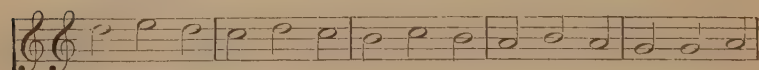


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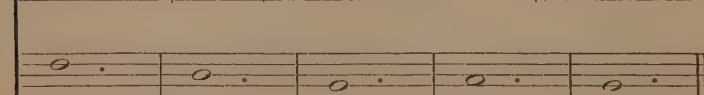
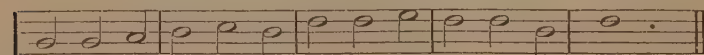
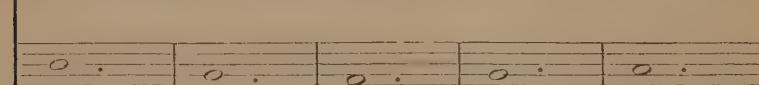
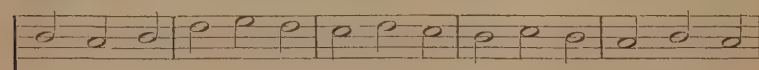
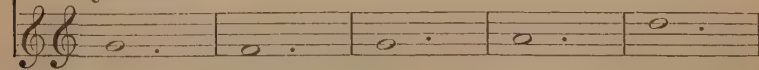


## MOLOSSUS AND TRIBRACH.

6th Mode.



5th Mode.



These examples not only provide us with excellent types of rhythmical mixture, but they also enable us already to form some practical idea of the kind of part-writing which is characteristic of the early mensural period. In its method this is seen as exceedingly weak and tentative, deficient in resource, and embarrassed by the rigour of its essential conditions ; while in its effect it is perceived as harsh, empty, and harmonically pointless. The strength and excellence of the composer, in fact, is still chiefly shown in the melodies of the individual voices, which are always easy and flowing, and sometimes, as in many of de Garlande's examples of the sixth metrical mode, as good as it is possible for simple music in strict rhythm to be. Before we quit the thirteenth century, however, we shall witness, in our examples, some approach towards that striking improvement in part-writing for which the rules last quoted in this work have already prepared us ; the feeble passages in unison will in a great measure disappear, imperfect concords will be found to be largely employed, and a notion of the sense and coherence which arise from harmonic relations will even be seen as dawning upon the minds of composers. Yet even in the later examples it will appear that artistic invention was still unable to deal exhaustively with the actual means at its command. The struggle towards an enlargement of the capacity of the governing material, the struggle which is characteristic of all arts during their periods of growth, had been necessarily rewarded by an increase of power which extended far beyond the immediate needs of the artist, and by the creation of a field of effort of which only a very small part could at first be at all perceived. It should not surprise us therefore to find that, although most of the resources which belong to the first two orders of counterpoint were now at the disposal of the musician, and although a double cantus in which both voices might move in complete



liberty, yet in perfect obedience to law, was in fact within his means, he still renounced the free exercise of the imagination, and for a long time remained content—except in dealing with two special forms of composition in one of which an ancient method was continued—with an almost mechanical construction of the upper voice parts upon the basis of material arranged throughout in a predetermined strict rhythmical shape.

### III

#### FORMS OF COMPOSITION

Although the various special forms of composition proper to this period may at first sight appear more numerous than might have been expected, it will be found upon examination difficult to assert that any were superfluous. It will be seen that each corresponded to some need arising either from the popular or the ecclesiastical use of music, or displayed some special aptitude of the art considered in its purely technical aspect ; and since the aims of all are reproduced more or less exactly in the music of later times, it must be assumed that all were healthy and indeed necessary elements in the first work of development.

These various forms may be classified as follows :—

- (a) Compositions in which all the parts have the same words. Such are *Organum communiter sumptum*, the *Cantilena*, and the *Rondel* or *Rota*.
- (b) Compositions in which each part has its own special words. Such as the *Motett*.
- (c) Compositions in which not all the parts have words. Such are the *Conductus*, and *Organum Purum vel proprie sumptum*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> 'Discantus autem fit cum littera, aut sine et cum littera, hoc est dupliciter : cum eadem vel cum diversis. Cum eadem littera fit discantus in cantilenis, rondellis, et cantu aliquo ecclesiastico. Cum diversis litteris fit discantus, ut in motetis qui habent triplum vel tenorem, quia tenor cuidam littere equipollet. Cum littera et sine fit discantus in conductis et discantu aliquo ecclesiastico qui proprie

Not all these forms were of equal antiquity : *Organum Purum* was older than the rest, and may therefore now be first examined.

The great age and authority of *Organum Purum*, which was in all probability the survival of an old method of florid discant in free rhythm and extempore upon the long notes of the plainsong, may perhaps partly account for the respect in which it was held by the authors of the thirteenth century treatises, for these writers apparently considered it as still the most noble and beautiful kind of music. Their opinion, however, was no doubt largely justified by the merits of the method, for the freedom which was its chief characteristic, in whatever degree it may have been present in the composition, implies the existence of beauties which in the regular style were impossible, and must in itself have possessed an ineffable charm for ears too much accustomed to repetitions of the well-known metres in fixed measurement.

Of the method itself unfortunately no absolutely clear or complete account can yet be given. This fact, however, is not due to any actual scarcity of information, for at least three writers of the first rank—the Anonymus of the British Museum (Royal MSS.), the author of *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis*, and Walter Odington—have taken the matter in hand, all of course being abundantly informed and not less clear than usual in statement ; our difficulty therefore arises from no fault of the authorities, but from the fact that their discussions deal with the method in certain aspects only, and that they were addressed to a public already well acquainted with the process in question ; the points not touched upon could then be filled in from the knowledge of the reader, while the allusions to practice also would be well understood, and

(*improprie* is wrongly given in the text) *organum appellatur.* *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis*, cap. xi ; *Cousse. Script.* i. 130.

would in fact be little more than direct appeals to experience. For us however, possessing no antecedent knowledge, the accounts given in the treatises, even when illustrated by the compositions now at our disposal, are not quite sufficient; so that while some of the essential features of the method stand out clearly enough, others, also of considerable importance, remain in obscurity and can only be guessed at.

The free Organum (*proprie sumptum*) was generally contrasted by the theorists with an Organum of another kind, already referred to in our classification, called *Organum communiter sumptum*, a form of the current strict music. Moreover it would seem that at different times the contrast was perceived from slightly different points of view; for while the early writers regard the opposed forms for the most part in their relation to the metrical modes, the later men take note chiefly of their position with regard to the mensural system.

In the first point of view the essential distinction between the two kinds of Organum resides in the regularity or irregularity of their rhythmical forms; the strict species organizing in some recognized mode, the free not so. From the description for instance of the strict species, given in *Discantus Positio Vulgaris*, the oldest treatise upon measured music which we possess, it would appear that the chief characteristic of that species was the purity of its metrical character, and for this reason no doubt it is called *pure Organum* by the author<sup>1</sup>. The actual contrast however between this Organum and the free species is not demonstrated in *Discantus Positio Vulgaris*, though no doubt it is intended to be inferred. We are only

<sup>1</sup> 'Pure Organum est quando cuilibet note de plano cantu, ultra mensuram existenti, correspondent de discantu due note, longa scilicet et brevis, vel his aliquid equipollens.' *Cousse. Script.* i. 96. From this it appears that the plainsong was uttered in notes of equal length (*notae ultra mensuram* are here perfect longs), and the organum chiefly in the first mode of rhythm, long and breve.

told with respect to the latter—which is apparently identical with the form here called *Organum duplex*—that it was a two-fold discant in which the melody, in relation to the lower voice, was diverse and consonant; that the pauses corresponded, but that the notes did not, because the long notes of the tenor were protracted<sup>1</sup>. The last sentence contains an important piece of information with respect to the method.

In the treatise of Jean de Garlande the rhythmical test is strongly insisted upon, and the contrast between the two kinds of Organum is well displayed in the names which he assigns to them—*rectum* and *non rectum*. ‘All organum,’ he says in effect, ‘is sung in some mode, either regular (*rectus*), by which is meant one of those in which discant is sung, or irregular (*non rectus*), that is to say a mode in which the rhythmical figures are not strictly taken. Longs and breves are strictly taken in the first regular mode (as in the strict Organum), but though they may also sometimes be taken in an irregular mode in the same way as in the first mode it is not strictly, but in a casual manner. Whatever then is sung in an irregular rhythm is called *Organum non rectum*<sup>2</sup>.’

The Anonymus of the British Museum (Royal MSS.) a writer of the Franconian period, but a strongly conservative theorist, adopts, as we should expect, the view of Jean de Garlande; and in fact a large portion of the concluding chapter of his treatise is devoted to a description of the irregular

<sup>1</sup> ‘Duplex organum est idem in pausis, non autem in notis, eo quod ducte longe sunt in tenore. In discantu vero duplex, et a primo diversus consonans cantus.’ Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Organum per se dicitur id esse quidquid profertur secundum aliquem modum rectum, aut non rectum. Rectus modus sumitur hic ille per quem discantus profertur. Non rectus dicitur ad differentiam alicuius recte; que longe et breves recte sumuntur debito modo primo, et principaliter. In non recto vero sumitur longa et brevis in primo modo, sed ex contingenti. Organum autem non rectum dicitur quidquid profertur per non rectam mensuram.’ *Cousse. Script.* i. 114.



modes, seven in number exclusive of variants, in one or other of which the upper part of the free organum—*Organum purum* as it was now called—was usually cast. One or two of these are intelligible, and the first is even to be recognized in a known composition of the time <sup>1</sup>; as regards the rest, however, it is unfortunately impossible at present to arrive at any decision with respect to the exact nature of the melodic figures which the author intended to describe; for his meaning is never illustrated by noted examples, and is moreover conveyed in this part of his work in special language of a highly technical character, to which at present we have no complete key.

During the latter half of the thirteenth century, the period which must now apparently be recognized as Franconian, Organum, as has been said, was perceived chiefly in its relation to the mensural system. The contrast in this point of view between its two kinds is exhibited, though somewhat confusedly, in *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis*, the representative treatise of this period, in the chapter upon the various species of measurable music. ‘Measurable music,’ says the author, ‘is measured either purely or in part. Music purely measured is discant, because discant is measured throughout; music partly measured is Organum, because Organum is not measured throughout. Organum is taken in two ways, *proprie* and *communiter*. *Organum proprie sumptum* is the same as *Organum duplum*, which is also called *Organum purum*; *Organum communiter sumptum*, on the other hand, is some ecclesiastical song measured in time <sup>2</sup>.’ From this it would

<sup>1</sup> ‘Duplex longa, *f e* coniunctim, *f d* coniunctim, *e c*, *d f*, *g f* cum plica, *d c* cum plica, *a* duplex longa cum *c* coniunctim; et iste modus dicitur primus irregularis, et bene competit organo puro.’ *Cousse. Script.* i. 361. The illustration is quoted by Anonymus as from the triple Organum *Alleluia Posui Adiutorium*, and will be found there in the middle voice part, near the end of the *Alleluia*. The composition has been printed by M. de Coussemaker in *L’Art Harmonique*, &c., 1865.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Dividitur autem mensurabilis musica in mensurabilem simpliciter et



appear that, notwithstanding the author's formal distinction, the latter species of Organum should properly belong to discant; the main point however, the difference between measured and partly measured Organum, is sufficiently made out.

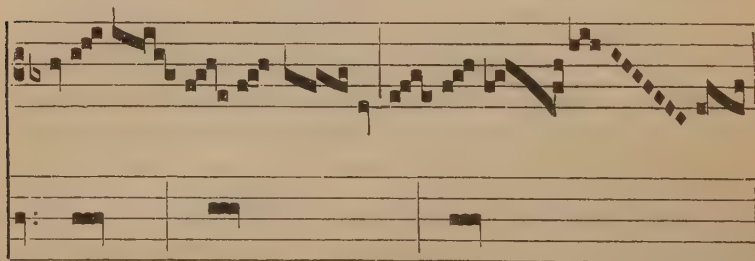
Walter Odington speaks of *Organum purum* only. 'There is,' he says, 'one kind of organic song in which alone the object is the putting together of immeasurable voice parts; it is called *Organum purum*, and this kind is the oldest, and is in two parts only<sup>1</sup>.' Simon Tunstede also, a writer of the fourteenth century, discusses the subject once more; he again draws the distinction, upon the mensural basis, between the two kinds of Organum, but he copies in this matter from *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis*, and adds little of his own that is of value.

*Organum purum*, then, appears as an unique and exceedingly ancient form of composition, dating evidently from a period antecedent to the institution not only of fixed time rules, but even of settled metrical rhythm in music. The freedom which it thus inherited is sufficiently declared in a general manner in the passages just quoted, but the extent of that freedom and the nature of the particular methods of its manifestation during the mensural period are nowhere completely revealed. By a consideration, however, of the available examples in notation, and of the rules and comments of the treatise writers, we may perhaps arrive at a fairly adequate view of the main features of the system.

partim. Mensurabilis simpliciter est discantus, eo quod in omni parte sua mensuratur. Partim mensurabilis dicitur organum, pro tanto quod non in qualibet parte sua mensuratur. Et sciendum quod organum dupliciter sumitur, proprie et communiter. Est enim organum proprie sumptum organum duplum, quod purum organum appellatur. Communiter vero dicitur organum quilibet cantus ecclesiasticus tempore mensuratus.' *Cousse. Script. i.* 118.

<sup>1</sup> 'Est autem unum genus cantus organici in quo tantum attenditur coherentia vocum immensurabilium, et Organum purum appellatur; et hoc genus antiquissimum est, et duorum tantum.' *Ibid. i.* 245.

We may begin with Odington's description of the method of composition. 'A few notes of plainsong being taken as the theme or Tenor, they are arranged in some mode, and the upper part is made to proceed by concords and the less discordant discords at pleasure. The upper part begins upon the octave fifth or fourth above the Tenor, and ends in the octave fifth or unison <sup>1</sup>.' This is very indefinite, and might serve equally well for a description of discant but for the example, which is as follows:—



This example, by its obvious disregard of mensural equivalence between the parts, at once reveals its freedom from the prevailing rules of proportion ; for it is evident that the upper part contains a far greater number of notes than could be regularly disposed above three double longs. Some allowance therefore must have been made, and one of the parts, if not both, must have been composed in view of special understanding with respect to the method of performance.

What was the nature of this understanding ? Since measure was not here applied to both parts together, as in discant, can it have been applied to one or the other alone, entirely or partially ?

<sup>1</sup> 'Fit igitur organum purum hoc modo : accepto uno puncto, vel duobus aut tribus de plano cantu (the text of the MS. is not quite the same here, but the sense does not differ), certo modo disponitur tenor, et superius proceditur per concordias et concordias discordias quantumlibet. Incipit autem superior cantus in diapason supra tenore, vel diapente vel diatessaron, et desinit in diapason vel diapente vel unisono.' *Cousse. Script. i.* 216.

With respect to the Tenor we may at once perhaps safely conclude that the duration of its long sounds was not fixed according to any measure of time, but was governed entirely by the conduct of the upper part. This, as we shall see, is apparently asserted by Jean de Garlande, for instance, and in *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis*, and it may also perhaps be implied in the expression *ductae longae*, used with respect to the tenor notes by the author of *Discantus Positio Vulgaris*. Moreover, while this course presented few difficulties, the inverse process would have been practically impossible. We have seen that if an upper part such as this of Odington's example were measured, it could not be fitted to three measured double longs; but it may also be remarked that a similar failure must occur if the upper part were free, owing to the insurmountable difficulty of adjusting long unmeasured passages, of various lengths, to equal notes of fixed duration. With an unmeasured Tenor, on the other hand, holding a single long note during the continuance of the passage in the upper voice, no difficulty, whether the upper part were measured or free, would occur; for the actual limits of the florid passages were well defined, the close of each being indicated in the written composition either by a consonant note not in ligature or by a pause following a consonant note either in or out of ligature, and in performance (as there is some reason to think) by a certain slackening of the pace upon the penultimate note; and by these means among others, the Tenor, whether singing from score or not, would, with practice, easily be able to perceive the points at which it might be necessary for him to relinquish any note of his part and to move to the next, without mensural agreement <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Jean de Garlande, after describing the nature of the organal parts from the rhythmical point of view, continues:—'Et eius equipollentia (i. e. Tenor), tantum se tenet in unisono (unison in a single part

The remaining circumstances which decided the movement of the lower voice are not all clearly explained, but perhaps it will not be rash to assume that, while the Tenor generally held his note until the end of a passage, he might also sometimes move at the appearance in the upper melody of some well-marked note, not closing, in consonance with the note next following in his own part; on the other hand, it would also appear that if discord with some imminent important note would result from the continuance of his own holding note, and if movement to the next were unsuitable, he might either 'feign concord,' by which is probably meant that he might invent a proper note, or might even be altogether silent for awhile.<sup>1</sup>

consists in the holding or repetition of a sound), usque ad finem aucius puncti (the passage in the upper part is here meant), ut secum convenit secundum aliquam concordantiam.' *Cousse. Script.* i. 114. The author of *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis* is equally explicit with regard to the unmeasured character of the Tenor:—'Sciendum quod purum organum haberi non potest, nisi super tenorem, ubi sola nota est in unisono.' And he adds the remark, which Tunstede has adapted, that when the tenor notes were more numerous (as they would be if measured), the result must be discant:—'ita quod quando tenor accipit plures notas simul, statim est discantus.' *Cousse. Script.* i. 184.

<sup>1</sup> By well-marked or important notes are here chiefly meant those which are figured as longs, respecting which the author of *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis* says:—'Quidquid est longum indiget concordantia respectu tenoris; sed si discordantia venerit, tenor taceat, vel se in concordantiam fingat.' *Cousse. Script.* i. 135. Walter Odington, after explaining that discant cannot be of less than two parts, adds:—'Organum autem aliquando est unius . . . ut dum attendens concordiam, tenor aliquando tacet.' *Ibid.* i. 245. The Anonymus of the British Museum (Royal MSS.) speaks of this practice only in reference to the first note of the Tenor:—'Et nota quod primus punctus tenoris mediat continuando, et resonat in locis in quibus magis competit secundum concordantias suppositas, et quiescit secundum discordantias disconvenientes, &c., prout melius competit.' *Ibid.* i. 361.

'Sunt quidam boni organiste et factores cantuum qui non regulariter iuxta considerationem predictam ponunt discordantias loco concordantie vel concordantiarum. Et hoc per quamdam subtilitatem ponimus punctorum sive notarum et sonorum, sicut tonus ante perfectam concordantiam, sive fuerit penultima vel aliter, quoniam recta regula est.' Anon. B.M., *Cousse. Script.* i. 358. 'Si penultima fuerit tonus in duplo



If then this view, in which the Tenor is first seen as giving a note to be organized, and as afterwards waiting and depending for guidance in its own movements upon the convenience of the organal voice, may be considered as sufficiently established, it would seem that we must look to the organal voice for a justification of the statements of the theorists with respect to the existence of measure in this kind of music; but it must be confessed that if those statements are to be taken as referring to measure according to strict rules, and marked by an evenly recurring beat of three times, it is difficult to find their justification in the accounts which we possess of the treatment of the upper part. This difficulty arises naturally, for instance, from a consideration of the rule given in *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis* for the treatment in the upper part of Organum of the notes not in ligature, from which we learn that ‘whatever is noted with a simple *longa* is long, with a *brevis* short, with a *semibrevis* of shorter value still <sup>1</sup>’; for while on the one hand we there gather that Organum, unlike the old *cantus ecclesiasticus*, accepts the shape of the plain note as a sign of value, on the other it seems possible, from the author’s abstention from mensural distinctions such as *perfecta*, *imperfecta*, *altera*, and his adoption of the general terms *longum*, *breve*, *semibreve*, that this value may not have been entirely dependent upon the circumstances which would have governed it in the *cantus mensurabilis*.

On the other hand we may remember that nothing has been said by the theorists, in discussing this form of composition, from which we could definitely and without doubt conclude that the upper part is not to be translated according to the *supra tenorem*, ut in organo puro, *optime erit concordans*, quamvis tonus non sit concordantia.’ Ibid.

<sup>1</sup> ‘Quidquid notatur in longa simplici nota longum est, et in brevi breve, et in semibrevis semibreve.’ Ibid. i. 135.



main rules of measurement in triple proportion. The Anonymus himself, in closing his account of the regular modes of discant, speaks of others (afterwards described by him as the modes of Organum), as ‘commonly called “unused,” as if irregular, though not really deserving that name<sup>1</sup>’; and from this we may infer that no wide technical distinction, such as that between measured and unmeasured, existed between the regular and irregular modes, and that the latter were perhaps characterized only by the absence of metrical rhythms. Again, Pseudo-Aristotle tells us that the regular modes were chosen out of many which formerly existed, but he makes no allusion to the triple proportion as the ground of selection. And the author of *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis*, though he mentions the absence of measure in the Tenor, says nothing respecting a similar freedom in the upper part; such a feature, had it existed, would have been eminently worthy of remark, yet the author confines his notice to the scarcity and excessive length of the lower notes.

And turning to the examples themselves of this form of composition, of which we now fortunately have access to a considerable number, we find that it is always perfectly possible to translate the notes of the upper part in measure, according to the rules of the earlier theorists—of Jean de Garlande and Pseudo-Aristotle for instance—and that the results are always satisfactory, and sometimes indeed display very remarkable beauty; and this fact is in itself a strong argument in favour of the existence of a mensural intention. On the other hand the attempts of the present writer to construct from the given figures, upon a non-mensural basis, phrases containing any clear musical meaning,

<sup>1</sup> ‘Iterato sunt et alii modi qui dicuntur modi inusitati, quasi irregulares, quamvis non sint, veluti in partibus Anglie et alibi, cum dicunt longa, longa brevis; longa, longa brevis; et sunt plures tales veluti inferius plenius demonstrabitur.’ Ibid. 328.

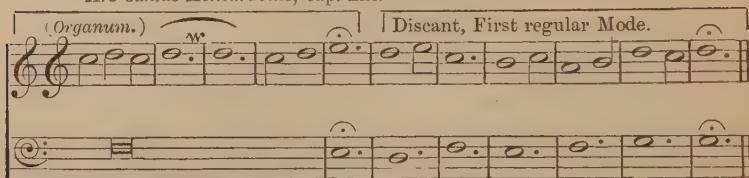
have entirely failed. With no intention therefore of pretending to prejudge a question which is now only for the first time brought within the view of historical students, and which must eventually be decided by the verdict not of one but of all, the writer has thought it desirable, in the specimens which follow, to represent the upper part as measured, in the belief that the versions thus obtained may substantially represent the intention of the composers, subject probably to a certain freedom of execution as regards the time.<sup>1</sup>

It will be observed that each of our examples contains a portion of pure discant, a portion, that is to say, in which both the upper and lower parts are measured in time ; and this intrusion upon the *Organum purum*, for which the theorists had not sufficiently prepared us, seems to be a necessary feature of the method, for it occurs in all the specimens examined by the writer. In some it occupies a very considerable proportion of the composition, while in others it is much reduced ; in some again it is concentrated in one portion of the work, in others it is distributed, and appears in small quantities from time to time. These passages are always in regular modes, in which the swing of the triple rhythm is extremely noticeable, while the true *Organum purum*, which constitutes the remainder of the composition, stands out, through the totally different character of its phrases, in striking contrast. This revelation of the mixed nature of the method casts a new light upon the saying of the author of *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis*, already quoted at p. 114 of this work, that *Organum purum* can only exist above the long holding notes of the Tenor, and that when the Tenor notes are numerous and close together it becomes discant. His illustration also,

<sup>1</sup> Six of the irregular modes of the Anonymus of the British Museum may easily be seen as identical in origin with the regular modes whose numbers they bear, and as differing in respect of their augmentation and diminution of the value of individual notes.

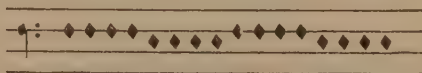
which formerly seemed to represent two distinct ideas, may now be considered as a single composition.

*Ars Cantus Mensurabilis*, cap. xiii.

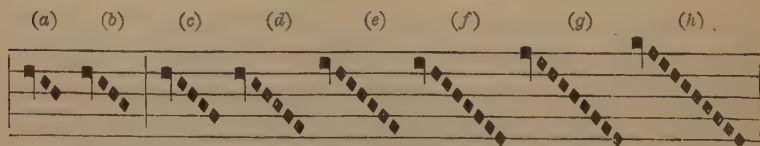


The ornamental passages in *Organum purum* are a marked feature, and may be compared to the melismatic passages in Plainsong. They occur chiefly at the beginning and end of pieces, a disposition also to be observed in the structure of Plainsong. The principal ornaments are :—

(a) The *flos*. The ornament implied by the sign above the two long notes in the above example is the *flos*, corresponding roughly to the modern shake; it is frequent in Organum, and occurred upon long notes or when consecutive notes were uttered upon the same sound. It consisted of a kind of oscillation broken by rapid beats; the oscillation might be at almost any interval, but either tone or semitone were generally employed. De Garlande represents the method of execution (*Cousse. Script.* i. 117) thus :—



(b) The *precedens cum currentibus*. This is one of the older figures derived from plainsong, and is shown thus :—



The shorter forms (a and b), consisting of a long and either two or three semibreves, are constantly found in discant,

and are there valued as shown below. The more extended forms (*c* to *h*)—in which the semibreves are usually from four to seven in number, occasionally eight, but very rarely more in unbroken series—are peculiar to *Organum* and *Conductus*.

Considering the difficulty of executing such figures as *f*, *g*, and *h* above within the limits of one 'perfection', it has been considered probable that the actual intention of the extended figure in *organum* and *conductus* would be well expressed by the rule—clearly discernible in the MS. when the test of equivalence is possible, as in triplum and quadruplum—which assigns two 'perfections' as a possible limit when the figure contains not less than three *currentes*.

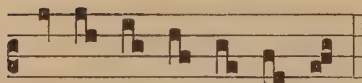
(*c*) The final *copula*. Copula was an important feature of *organum*, in *duplum* and *triplum*; it consisted of a short passage occurring, according to Odington, always upon the penultimate long note of the Tenor, and constituting the final ornament of the composition<sup>1</sup>. It began with a long note *ad libitum*, was continued in either the second or the sixth regular mode of rhythm—sung very quickly—and ended, as it began, with a long note. It was shown in two ways, one for each mode, thus<sup>2</sup>:—

<sup>1</sup> The author of *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis*, of earlier date than Odington, says nothing respecting the final character of copula; and a certain passage of the Triplum *Alleluia*, *Posui Adiutorium*, mentioned by the Anonymus—see p. 110 (note) of this work,—and said by that author to be put 'in loco copule,' may be taken to prove that the final character did not prevail exclusively in his day, since the passage in question occurs upon the eighth long note before the close.

<sup>2</sup> 'Copula est velox discantus ad invicem copulatus. Copula alia ligata, alia non ligata. Ligata copula est que incipit a simplici longa, et prosequitur per binariam ligaturam cum proprietate et perfectione, ad similitudinem secundi modi; ab ipso tamen secundo modo differt, scilicet in notando et proferendo; in notando, quia secundus modus in principio simplicem longam non habet; copula vero habet. . . . In proferendo etiam differt copula a secundo modo, quod secundus profertur ex recta brevi et

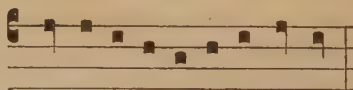
## COPULA LIGATA

(Second Mode)



## COPULA NON LIGATA

(Sixth Mode)



The final *copula* may be compared with the florid passages of *organum suspensum* (p. 28), and with the method of augmentation or diminution of the organal notes in Cotto's fifth mode (p. 39).

Before passing on to the examples, a word may be said with regard to the rests in the music of the rather early period from which our specimens are taken. The rests do not exhibit their actual value; a small hasty scratch—which may also indicate equivalence—expresses every kind of pause. Sometimes it may signify a mere breathing, sometimes a definite pause of breve length, sometimes again a pause equivalent to the perfect long. In the following translations the rest has been indicated by a comma above the stave; if actual value seems to be intended that value is shown in its proper place, but if a mere breathing is supposed the comma alone suffices to express it.

longa imperfecta; sed copula ista velociter proferetur, quasi semibrevis et brevis, usque ad finem.

'Copula non ligata ad similitudinem quinti modi (Franco's fifth mode was the usual sixth) fit. Differt tamen a quinto dupliciter: in notando et in proferendo. In notando differt a quinto, quia quintus sine littera ubique ligabilis est, sed copula ista nunquam super littera accipiatur, et tamen non ligatur. . . . In proferendo differt etiam a quinto, quod quintus ex rectis brevibus profertur, copula vero velocius proferendo copulatur.' *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis*; Cousse. *Script.* i. 133-4.

'Copula ligata facienda est super unum punctum vel plures sicut organum: verum aliquando triplex est. Et accipit longam notam in principio non mensuratam, et procedit per binariam ligaturam. Copula non ligata eodem modo fit, sed non ligatura. Ista vero species sive ligata sive separata semper apponitur in fine punctorum, nisi omnes decenter possunt pausare.' W. Odington, *Cousse. Script.* i. 248.





**V** a et iheru sa lem.

**C**on stan

tes esto

re. vi de bi tauxi li

um do mi ni super uos.

‘Iudea et Ierusalem’ and ‘Constantes estote’

From a MS. in the Laurentian Library, Florence

## ORGANUM DUPLUM VEL PURUM.

IUDEA ET IERUSALEM.

Bibl. Mediceo-Laurenziana,  
MS. Plut. 29. 1, fol. lxxv.

The musical score is written on two staves using mensural notation. The notation includes various note values (minims, crotchets, quavers) and rests, often grouped by beams or flags. The lyrics are written below the staves, with some words appearing on the first staff and others on the second. The score is divided into four systems, each with two staves. The first system begins with the word 'Iu' on the first staff. The second system has no lyrics. The third system has the word 'de' on the first staff. The fourth system has no lyrics. The notation includes various musical symbols such as flags, beams, and rests, indicating the rhythm and melody of the piece.

Iu - - - - -

- - - - -

- - - - -

- - - - -

de - - - - -

- - - - -

- - - - -



ORGANUM DUPLUM VEL PURUM.

CONSTANTES ESTOTE.

Bibl. Mediceo-Laurenziana,  
MS. Plut. 29. 1, fol. lxxv.

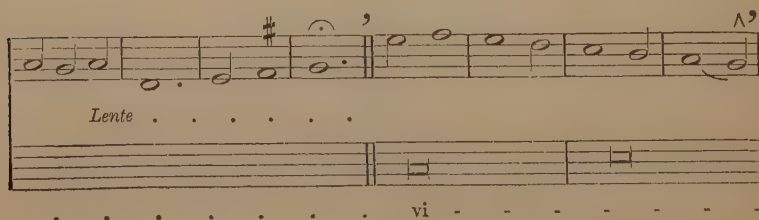
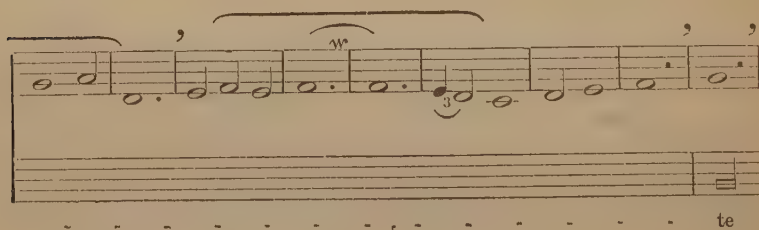
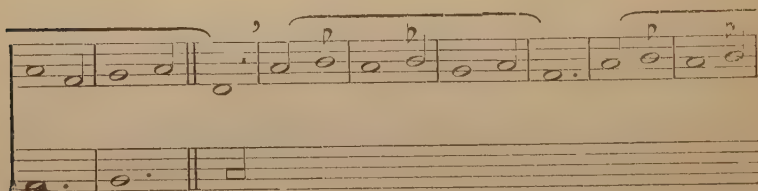
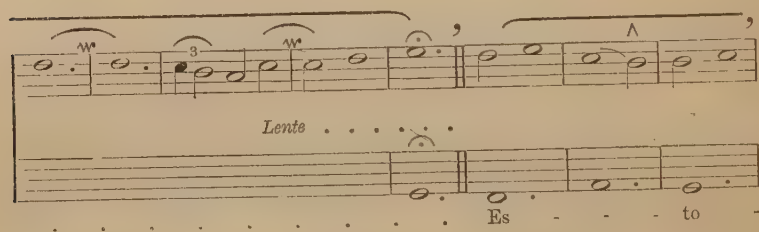
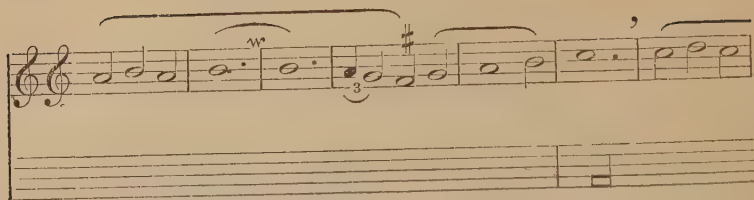
The musical score is written on two staves using mensural notation. The notation includes various note values (minims, crotchets, quavers) and rests, with some notes beamed together. The score is divided into measures by vertical bar lines. The lyrics are written below the staves, with some words appearing on the first staff and others on the second. The score includes several musical ornaments, such as the 'w' symbol above notes and the '3' symbol below a triplet. The lyrics are: 'Con', 'stan', and 'tes'.

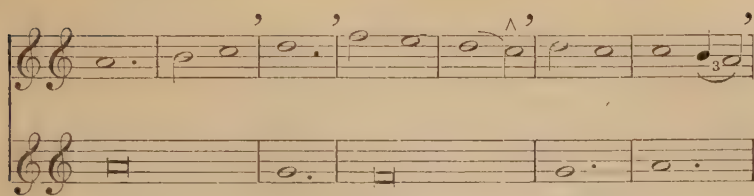
Con - - - - -

stan - - - - -

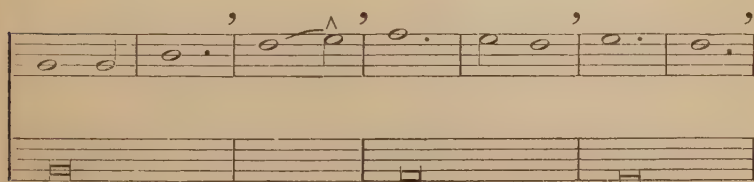
tes .



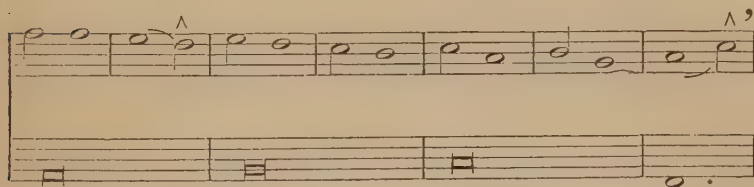




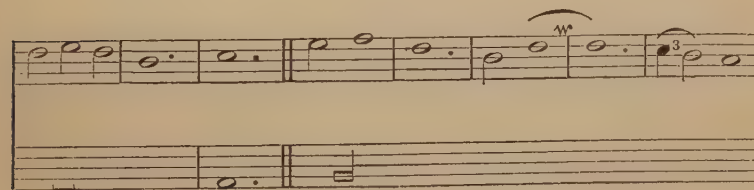
de - - bi - - - - - tis . . . .



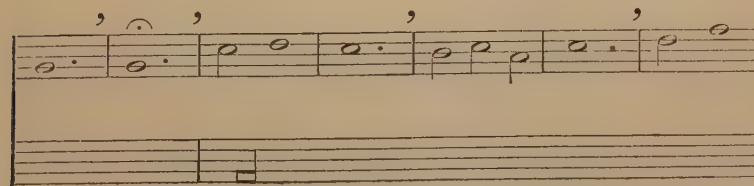
aux - - - i - - - - - li - - -



- - - - -



un . . . . . Do - - - - -



- - - - - mi - - - - -

The first system consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and contains a sequence of eighth and quarter notes, ending with a half note. The lower staff is also in treble clef and contains a few scattered notes, including a quarter note and a half note, with a dashed line below it.

The second system consists of two staves. The upper staff has a melodic line with a slur and a 'w' marking. The lower staff has a few notes, including a half note and a quarter note. Below the staves, the lyrics 'ni su per' are written, with a dashed line above them.

The third system consists of two staves. The upper staff has a melodic line with a slur and a '3' marking. The lower staff has a few notes, including a half note and a quarter note. Below the staves, the lyrics 'nos' are written, with a dashed line above them.

The fourth system consists of two staves. The upper staff has a melodic line with a slur. The lower staff has a few notes, including a half note and a quarter note, with a dashed line below it.

The fifth system consists of two staves. The upper staff has a melodic line with a slur and a '3' marking. The lower staff has a few notes, including a half note and a quarter note. Below the staves, the word 'Lente' is written, followed by a dashed line.

It would appear that the form of composition displayed in these examples is alone rightly called *Organum purum*. Other forms however existed, compositions of three and four voices, in which the characteristic structure of *Organum purum*—unmeasured long notes in the tenor held under passages of varying length in the upper parts—was maintained, and these apparently were called *Organum triplum* and *quadruplum*. Such compositions, however, differed materially from *Organum duplum* in the character of the upper parts, which were from the nature of the case less free and written more often in the regular modes than the upper part of the older kind ; and it is on this account perhaps that the name of *Organum* even is refused by the Anonymus of the British Museum to this kind of music <sup>1</sup>. *Tripla* simply, or *Magna tripla*, &c., are the names given to such compositions by that author, who thus again reveals his opinion that the distinctive characteristic of *Organum* is not so much the unmeasured length of the tenor notes as the freedom of the single upper voice.

<sup>1</sup> 'Sciendum quod organum verbum equivocum est ; quandoque dicitur organum purum, velut in *Iudea et Ierusalem*, in duplo, velut *Descendit de celis*, vel *Gaude Maria*, &c. . . . Quandoque dicitur alio modo, ut in organo triplo, quamvis improprie, velut in *Posui Adiutorium*.' *Cousse. Script.* i. 354.

## ORGANUM TRIPLUM.

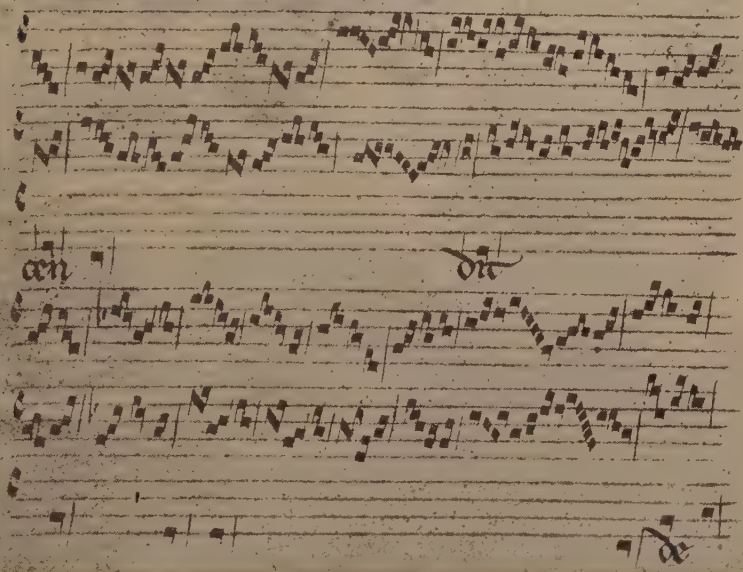
## DESCENDIT DE CELIS.

Bibl. Mediceo-Laurenziana,  
MS. Plut. 29. 1, fol. xiv.

Des

cen

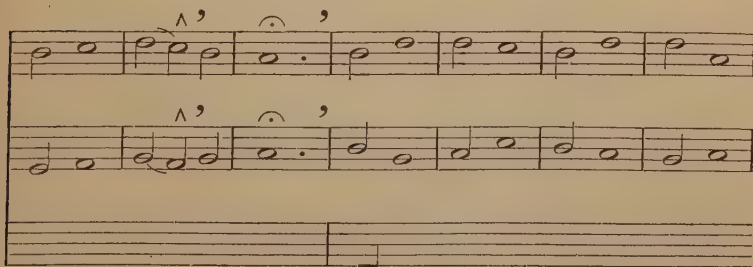
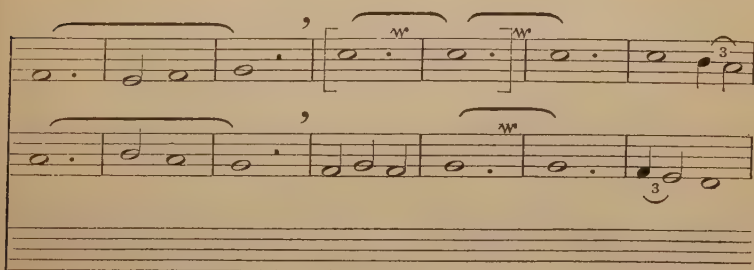
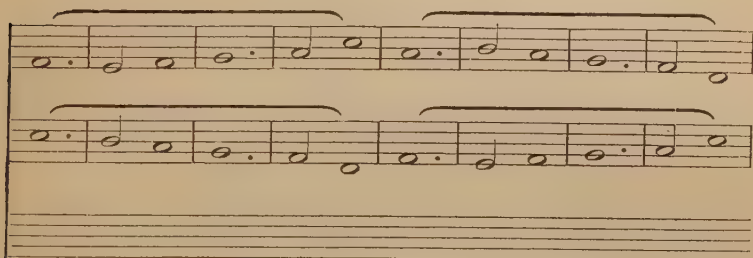
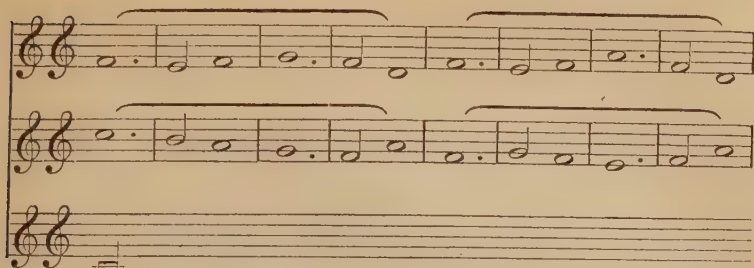




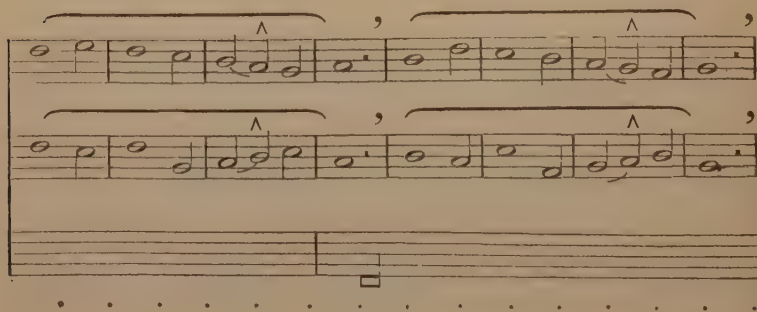
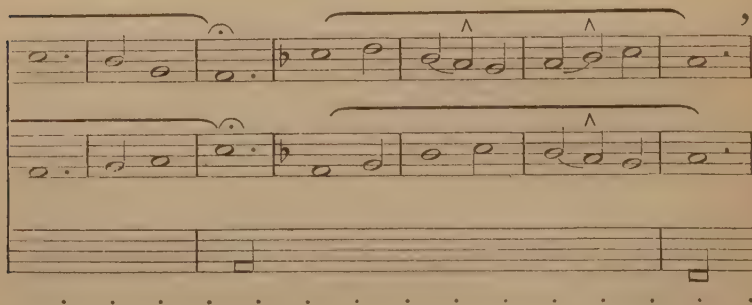
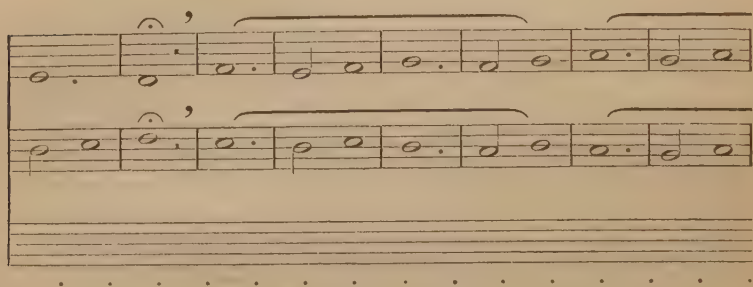
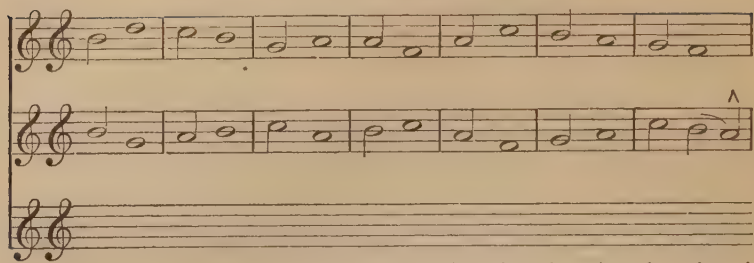
‘Descendit de celis’

From a MS. in the Laurentian Library, Florence





dit . . . . .



As the *organum* is of considerable length an omission has been made. The end of the composition is as follows:—



## ORGANUM QUADRUPLUM.

VIDERUNT OMNES.

Bibl. Mediceo-Laurenziana;

MS. Plut. 29. I, fol. i.

Maitre Pérotin.

Vi

Vi

Vi

Vi

m  
m  
m  
m  
m  
m  
m  
m  
m  
m

11  
11  
11  
11  
11  
11  
11  
11  
11  
11

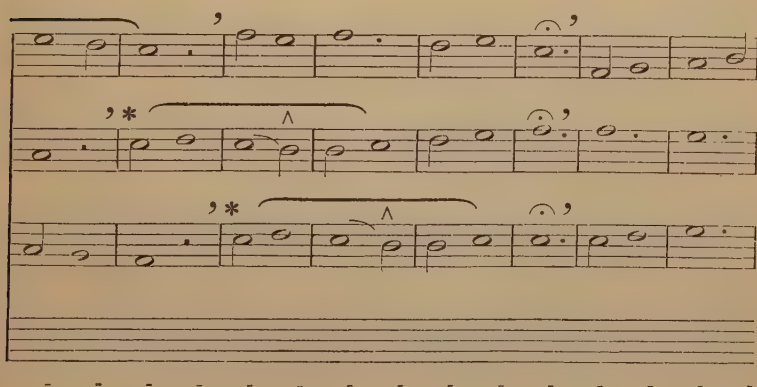
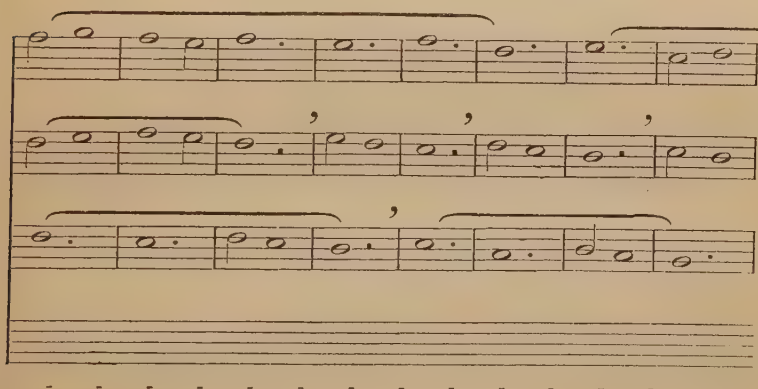
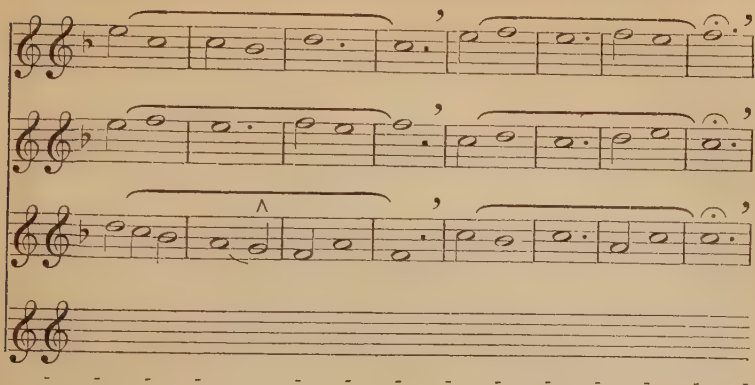
**D**

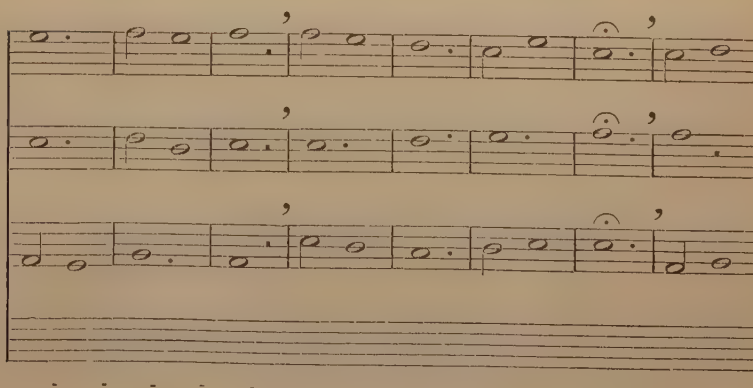
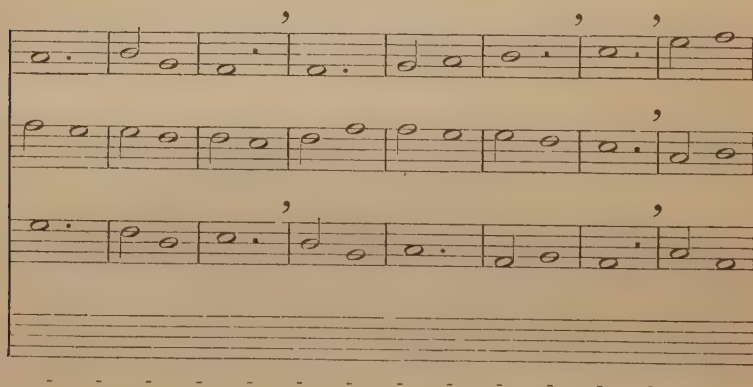
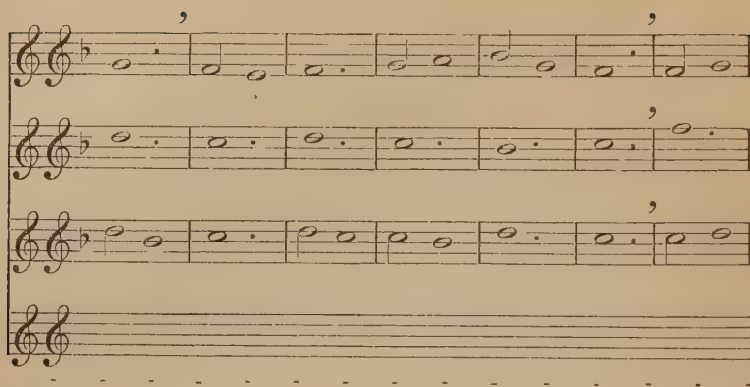
run

‘Viderunt omnes’

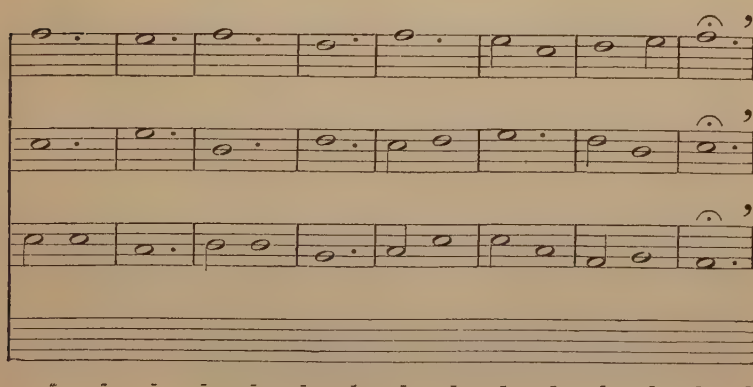
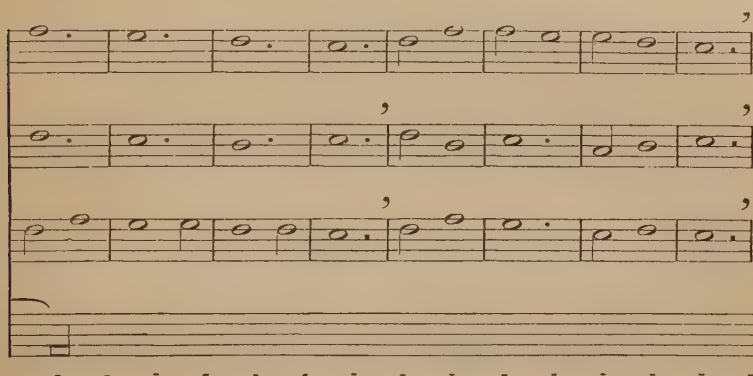
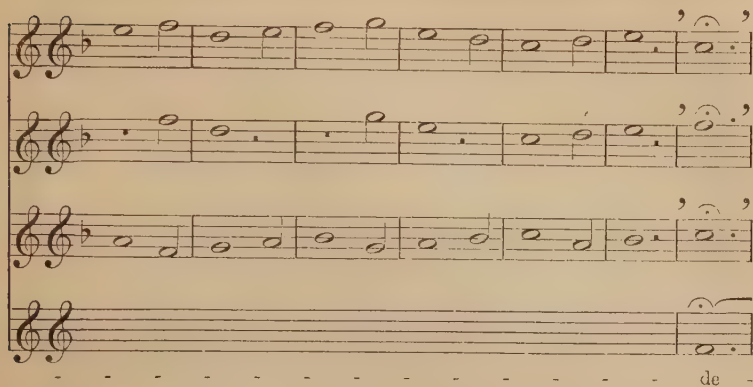
From a MS. in the Laurentian Library, Florence

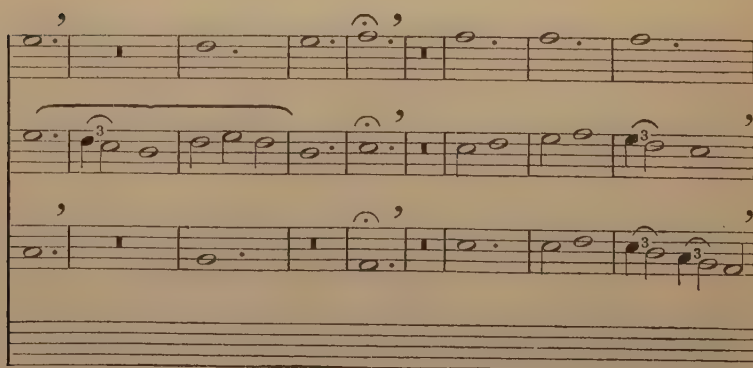
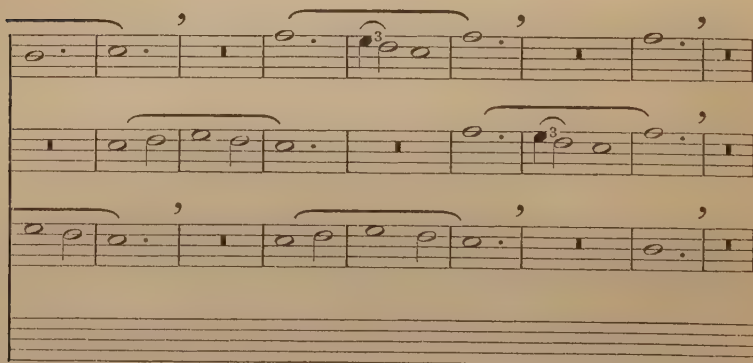
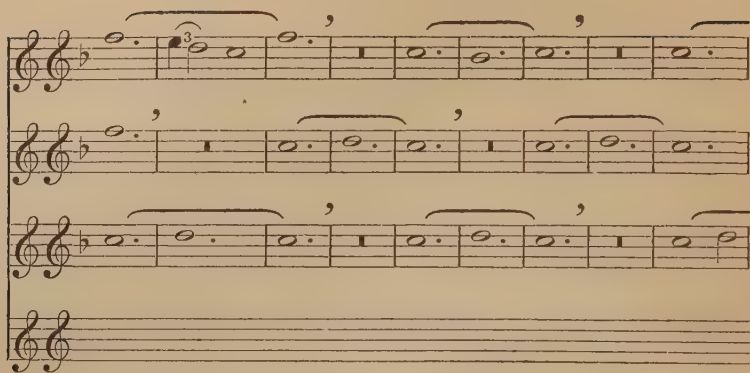


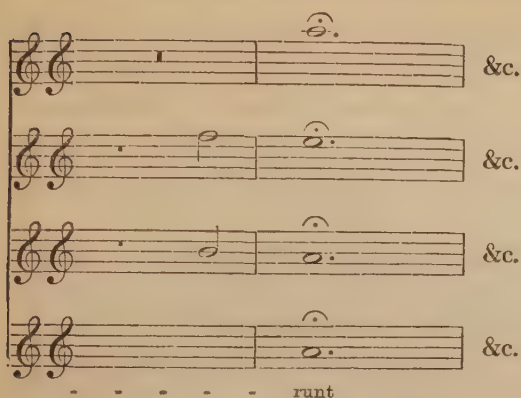








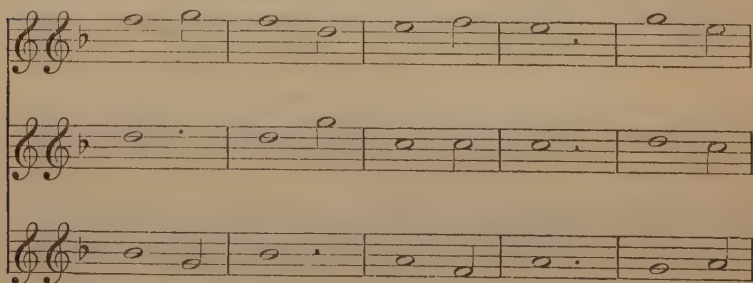




With respect to the *conductus*, the remaining important form of composition in which not all the parts have words, the information left to us by the theorists is smaller in quantity and less precise in its character even than that upon which we depended for our first notions of *organum purum*. One or two facts, however, stand out more or less clearly in the descriptions which have been given, and of these the most valuable—since it reveals the essential characteristic of the *conductus*—is that mentioned both by the author of *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis* and by Odington with respect to the nature of the lower part; for from their treatises we find that in this form of composition, and in this form alone among the dignified kinds of music, the Tenor was not taken from the ritual melodies of the church. These writers do not, however, altogether agree in their accounts of the actual source of the Tenor; the author of *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis* holding that it must be entirely invented by the composer<sup>1</sup>, while Odington informs us

<sup>1</sup> After his classification of the forms of composition, given at p. 106 of this work, the author continues :—‘ Et nota quod his omnibus est idem modus operandi, excepto in conductis. Quia in omnibus aliis primo accipitur cantus aliquis prius factus, qui tenor dicitur, eo quod discantum tenet et ab ipso [*tenore*] ortum habet [*discantus*]. In conductis vero non

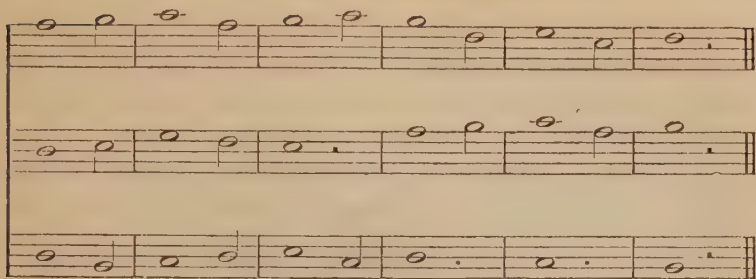
that it might also be adopted from some already existing extra-liturgical source. From the author of *Discantus Positio Vulgaris* we obtain the important information that the composition was framed upon a metrical basis, and we are also told that it admitted the secondary consonances—a statement from which we may perhaps infer that these consonances, commonly described as imperfect, were used in the *conductus* in a larger proportion than in music founded upon the *cantus ecclesiasticus*<sup>1</sup>. Finally, Walter Odington mentions that in this method the unusual device of taking several notes in direct sequence upon the same sound was a peculiar feature. He also compares the *conductus* generally with the Rondel, and may be said to define it as a work of the same nature as the Rondel, though deprived of the essential constructive feature of that form, namely the carefully ordered imitation of one part by all the rest in turn. In his view therefore all the parts of the *conductus* were equally melodious and displayed the same kind of melody<sup>2</sup>; and this indeed appears from his example, the only specimen of this form of composition to be found in the works of the theorists, which is here given.



sic, sed fiunt ab eodem cantus et discantus. . . . Qui vult facere conductum, primum cantum invenire debet pulchriorem quam potest ; deinde uti debet illo, ut de tenore faciendo discantum.' *Cousse. Script. i. 132.*

<sup>1</sup> 'Conductus autem est super unum metrum multiplex consonans cantus, qui etiam secundarias recipit consonantias.' *Ibid. i. 96.*

<sup>2</sup> 'Conducti sunt compositi ex plicabilibus canticis decoris cognitis vel inventis, et in diversis modis, ac punctis iteratis, in eodem tono vel



The Anonymus of the British Museum gives no information with respect to the methods of composition proper to this kind of music, but we learn from him that the *conductus* was a highly important form, and that it had been largely employed by the greatest masters. He informs us, moreover, that it was of several kinds—*simplex*, *duplex*, and *triplex*; a four-part kind also is referred to, but its existence, except in a somewhat rudimentary shape, appears to be doubtful, since to the author's mention of *quadruplices* among the finished forms he adds *si fuerint*. Room for speculation also exists with respect to the nature of *conducti simplices*. From the author's classification—*simplices*, *duplices*, *triplices*, et *quadruplices* (*si fuerint*)—we might naturally suppose that the simple kind was for one voice only; and remembering that the Anonymus ascribes to Pérotin a *conductus simplex* upon the words *Beata viscera*, &c., and considering the fact that among the compositions for a single voice in the Florence MS. a *Beata viscera*, &c., is to be found, we may perhaps be somewhat strengthened in this supposition. On the other hand, from the author's statement, contained in his remarks upon the misuse of the word *organum*—*In triplo quandoque simplex organum dicitur, ut in simplicibus conductis*—we cannot but infer that the simple *conductus* might also be in three parts. *diversis... Rondellus vel cum littera vel sine littera sit. Si vero non alter alterius recitat cantum, sed singuli procedunt per certos punctos, dicitur Conductus, quasi plures cantus decori conducti.*' Cousse. *Script.* i. 247.



In this latter view therefore the ‘simplicity’ of the *conductus* would refer rather to its method of composition than to the number of its voice parts; and in fact, in the pieces contained in the Florence MS. which can be identified as *conducti*, we may certainly observe two methods, one essentially simple and the other essentially elaborate, the admixture of which in one composition would indeed seem to constitute the classical form of this kind of music; and that the simple method was often used alone, in such a manner as to justify the appellation *conducti simplices*, we learn from the Anonymus himself, who speaks of *conducti* for two, three, and four voices, in which the elaborate portions were entirely absent; and such pieces he says were much in favour with less experienced singers. It is possible, therefore, that the name of *conducti simplices* was applied in two senses, and might designate either a composition for one voice, or a composition in which the simple method only was employed.

But passing from this point, we may proceed to give, from observation of the existing complete specimens, some further particulars respecting the composite and chiefly prevailing form of *conductus*; and may especially indicate the nature of the difference, and the origin of the remarkable contrast of character, which exists between the simple and elaborate methods.

Broadly speaking, in this form of composition the simpler method is displayed in the treatment of the metrical words—for it may be explained that the words of the *conductus*, which are given to the tenor or lower part, are always metrical—when they proceed straight forward in continuous rhythm; all the parts then moving together follow the simple accents of the poem, and are written moreover in accordance with the old principle—exemplified in our former specimens *Verbum bonum* and *Custodi nos*—which assigns a single long note or

its equivalent to each syllable of the text, and in which every note or group of notes, however figured, is equal to the note or group to which it is opposed ; and in this simple and fundamental method all the music properly belonging, so to speak, to the poem is expressed. This portion of the work however was evidently, from the technical point of view, its least important part, for it is upon the ornamental portions that the strength and skill of the composer were chiefly exerted. The ornament consists of long passages of the later measured music, resembling in style the discant portions of *organum purum*, but generally of greater extent and exhibiting greater variety of resource, interpolated at irregular intervals in the texture of the simpler portion, and taken upon prominent syllables, among which the first of the initial word of each stanza, and the penultimate of the last word, generally received the most extensive embellishment. These extraneous ornamental interpolations were the *caudae*, which adorned, as the Anonymus tells us, the greater part of the fine collection of *conducti* in the library of Notre Dame, and which we find in profusion in the specimens, probably derived from that collection, in the Florence MS. In their melodic character they display as a rule much of the rude and lilting kind of beauty which belongs to the triple metres of the mediaeval use, and form a strong contrast to the more smoothly moving spondees of the simple portion of the work ; while from the harmonic point of view we may again observe both the accidental clashing of the voices in their progress towards the perfect concord, and the more deliberate discords placed for the sake of ‘ colour ’ in certain well recognized positions, which are characteristic of the early mensural period, and which we have already seen in the elaborate forms of *organum*.

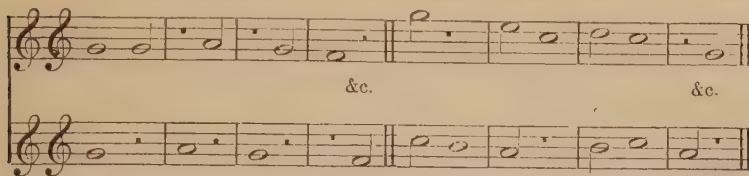
The juxtaposition in this form of composition of two kinds of music, not only widely different in character but also repre-

senting two distinct phases of progress different in point of time, is a somewhat remarkable circumstance, and may well give rise to the supposition that just as in *organum purum* we saw a later and arbitrary embellishment of the antiphon, so in these great compositions we may perceive an analogous process applied perhaps originally to ancient extra-liturgical hymns, and more recently to similar themes composed—in order to maintain the essential form of the *conductus*—in the ancient technique.

Among the devices adopted in the embellishments of the *conductus* will be found not only the various applications of sequence and imitation, so far as they were known at this period, and the figures which might seem to indicate the presence of some form of *copula*, all of which were to be seen in *organum purum*, but a new kind now makes its appearance, a kind mentioned in our list of forms of composition in the same class with *organum* and *conductus*, but apparently at this period more often met with in practice as a temporary device used to give interest or variety than for its own sake or in a continuous form—the *Ochetus* or *Hoquet*. The nature of this device is partly indicated by its name. It consisted essentially in a sudden hiatus in the voice—‘truncation’ is the word used by the theorists—governed by the rhythmical mode of the passage. Thus, in modes consisting of longs and breves either the long or the breve is omitted in the *hoquet* from its proper situation, and this is signified in the written music by an equivalent pause ; moreover, for the sake of continuity, the hiatus created in one voice is filled by another, and in general if one voice omits the breve the other is silent in the place of the long<sup>1</sup>, thus :—

<sup>1</sup> ‘Ista truncatio fit super excogitatum tenorem vel super cantum, ut semper unus taceat dum alius cantat ; vel si triplex, sic : duo cantent et tertius taceat.’ Walter Odington, *Cousse. Script.* i. 248.

‘Truncatio est cantus rectis obmissisque vocibus truncate prolatus, et sciendum quod truncatio tot modis potest fieri, quot longam, brevem,



In our examples of *conductus* the *hoquet* will be found in its most simple form, that is to say in the fifth mode of rhythm—in which the hiatus is always of the value of a perfect long—and in very short passages, but from the treatises and compositions of the Franconian period we may discover that it was afterwards much cultivated, and brought to express the truncation of breves<sup>1</sup>.

No specimens of *conductus quadruplex* written in the classical form have as yet been observed in the Florence MS., and this circumstance to some extent confirms the doubt with respect to their existence which was expressed by the Anonymus of the British Museum. The specimen given from the MS. among the pieces here following exhibits apparently an earlier phase of the form than that which is displayed in the examples for two and three voices, since not only the music of the text, but the *cauda* also, seems to be written in the older method in which each group of notes equals the long. The clashes of consecutive seconds which occur before the close must probably be accepted as a recognized feature of important compositions in four parts, since a similar device occurs also in the same situation, in our example of *organum quadruplum*. vel semibreve contingit partiri. Longa partibilis est multipliciter; primo in longam et brevem, et brevem et longam; et ex hoc fit truncatio, vel oketus, quod idem est, ita quod in uno brevis obmittatur, in alio vero longa.' *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis*, cap. xiii.

<sup>1</sup> 'Sic etiam potest (longa) dividi in tres breves, vel duas, et in plures semibreves. Et ex his omnibus cantatur truncatio per voces rectas et obmissas, ita quod, quando unus pausat, alius non pauset, vel e converso. Brevis vero partibilis est in tres semibreves vel duas; et ex hoc cantatur cantus oketus, unam semibreve obmittendo in una, et aliam proferendo.' *Ibid.*

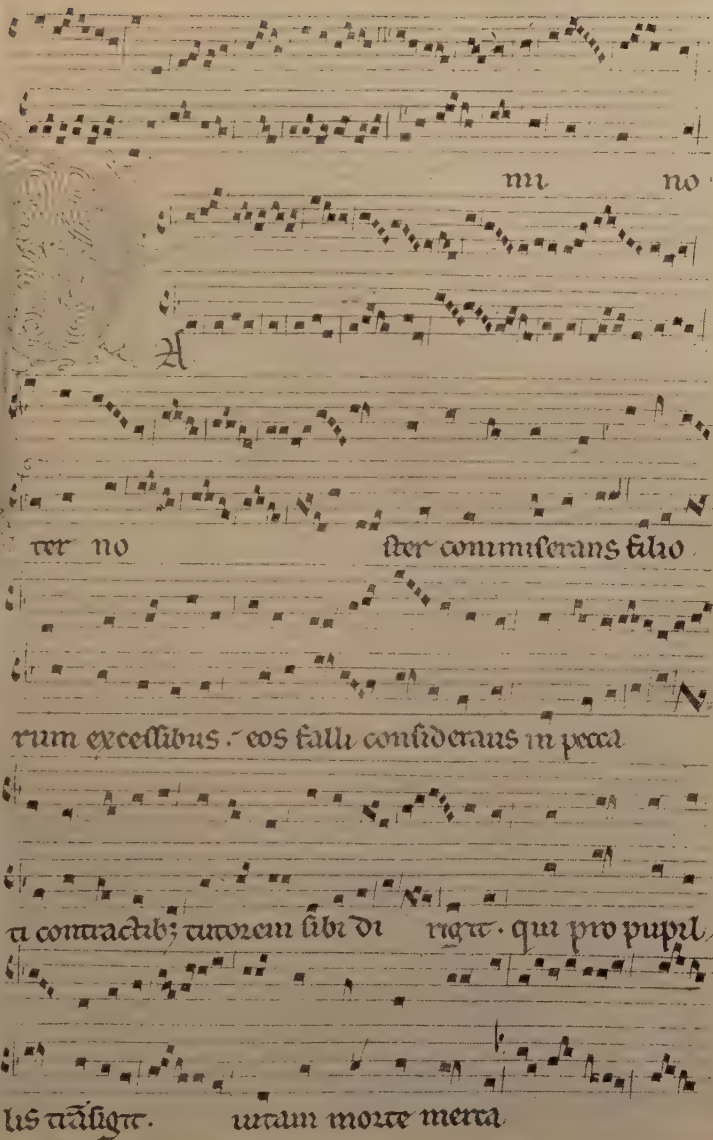
## CONDUCTUS DUPLEX.

PATER NOSTER COMMISERANS.

Bibl. Mediceo-Laurenziana,  
Plut. 29. I, fol. cclxxviii<sup>b</sup>.

Pa

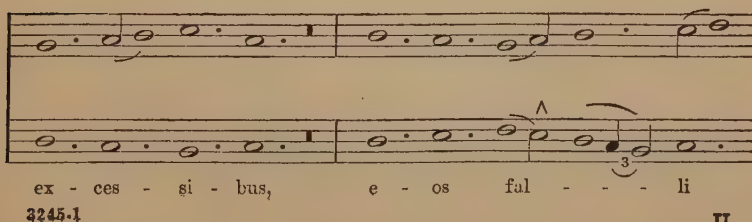
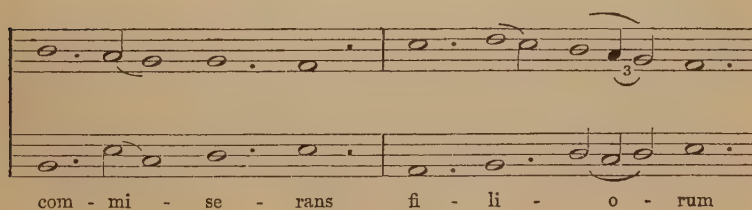
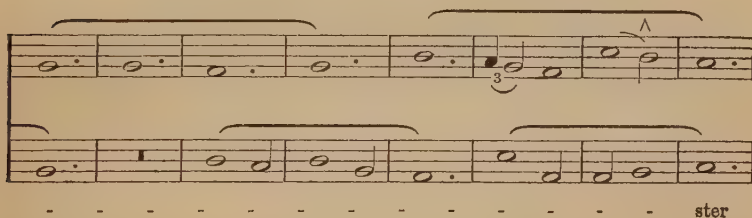
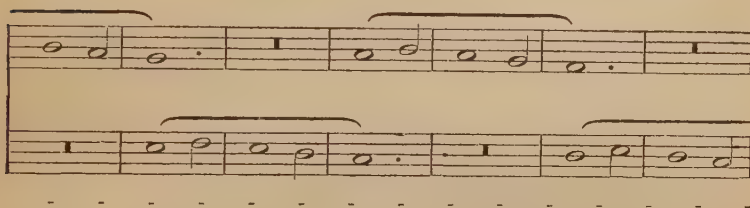
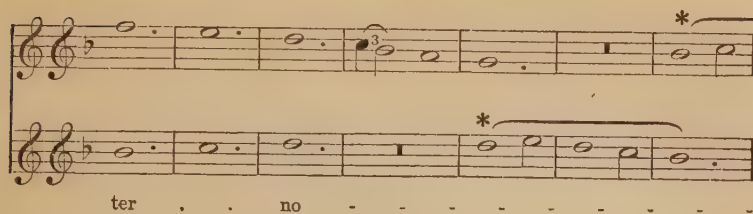


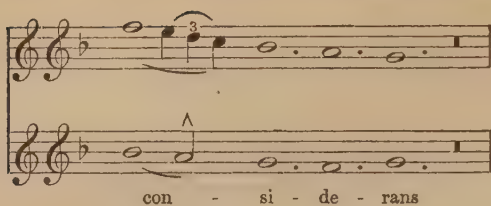


‘Pater noster commiserans’

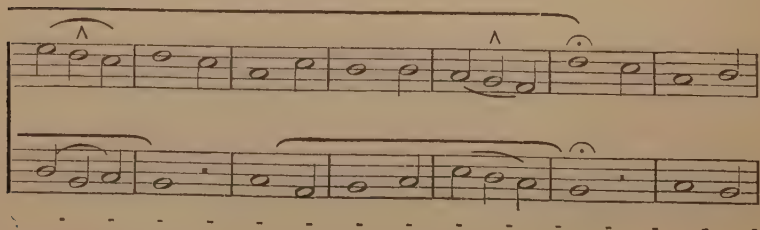
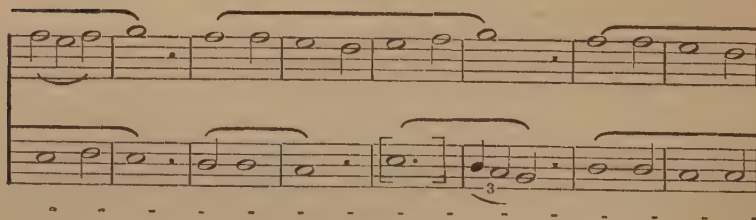
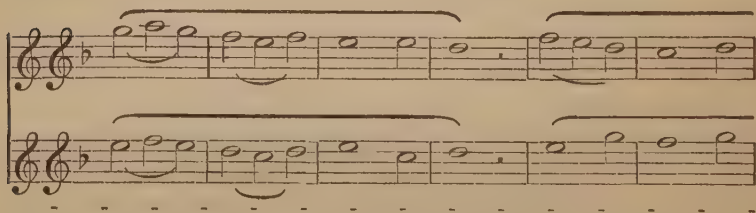
From a MS. in the Laurentian Library, Florence

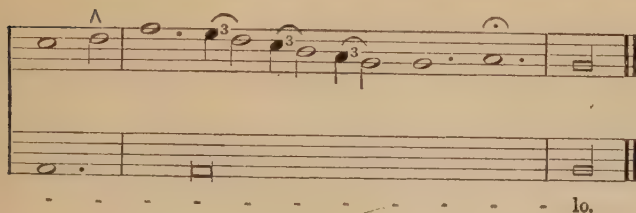






As the *conductus* is of unusual length it will be sufficient at this point to pass on to the close of the composition, which is as follows :—



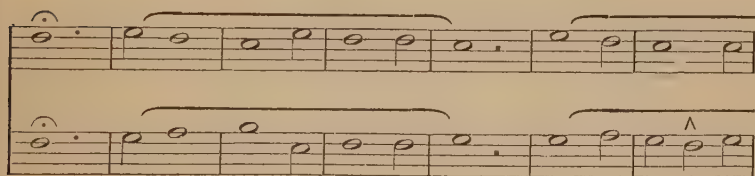
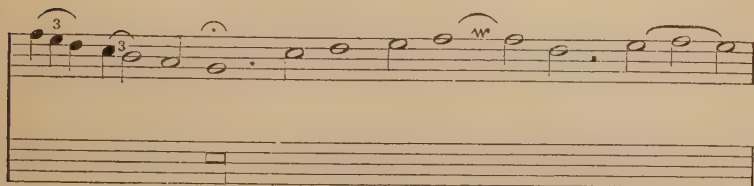
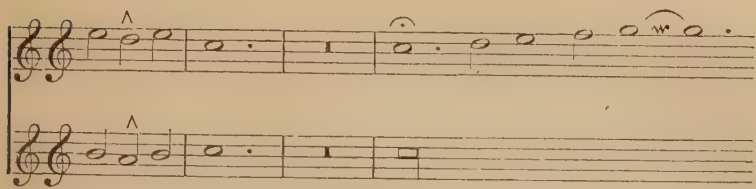


It is evident from this specimen that the scheme of the *conductus* includes (though the treatises do not mention the fact) a point of *organum purum* upon the penultimate note of important divisions of the composition. In the following example, which is by the great Pérotin, this device is again seen, used moreover in great variety, and also much more frequently than in the specimen before us.

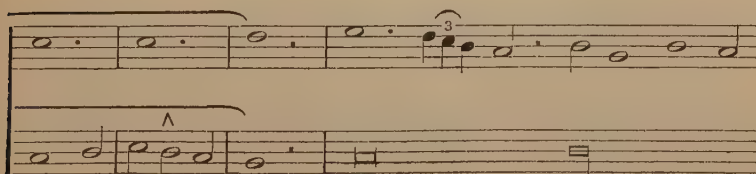
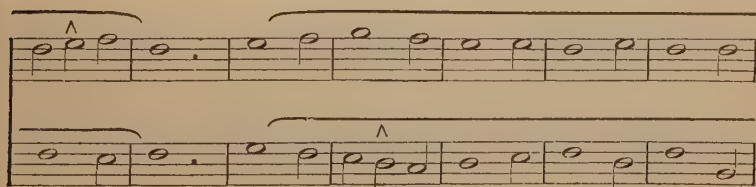
Pérotin also, it will be observed, uses the pause of the perfect long less often than the composer of *Pater Noster*, and thus creates constantly a fullness and continuity of sound which is often noticeably wanting in compositions such as this just given, in which the long pause is much employed.







tris sig - - - - -



na - - - - -

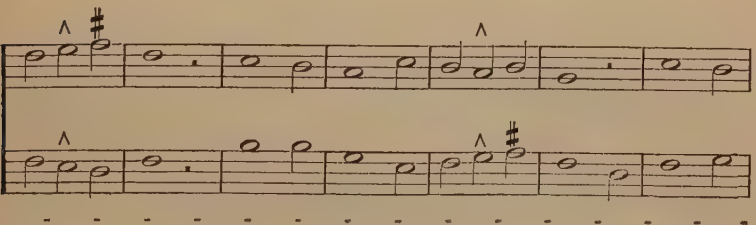
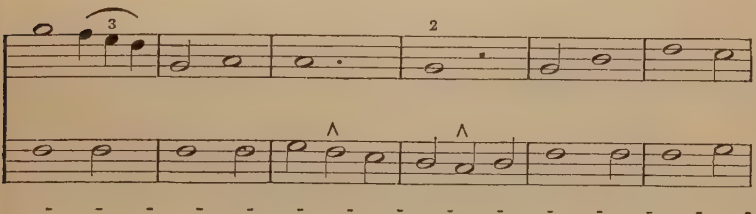
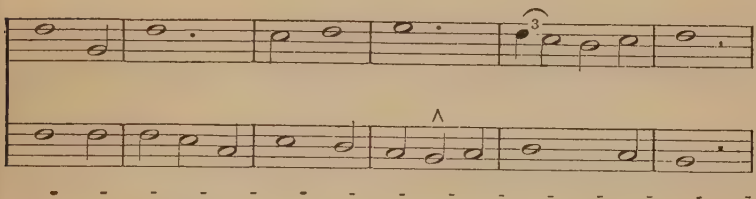
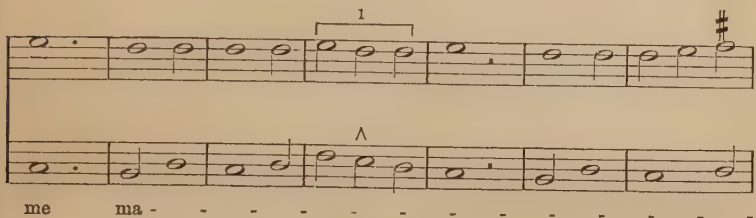
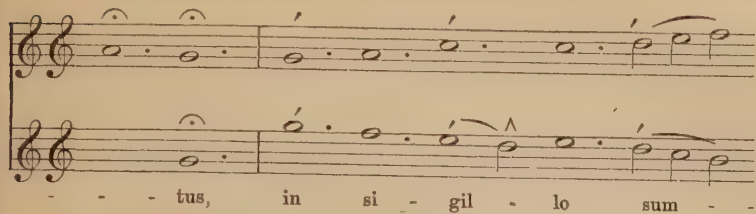
tum . . . . .

. . . . . di - - -

. . . . .

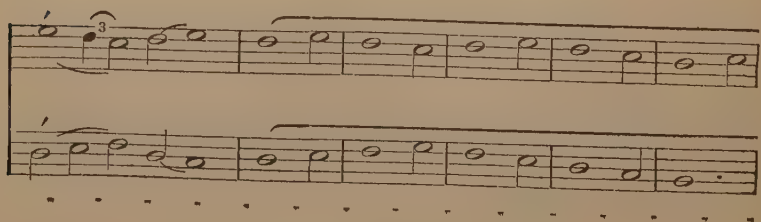
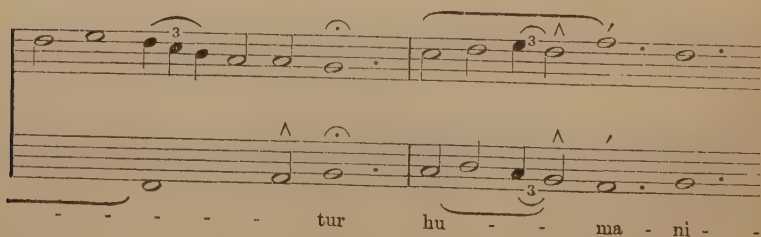
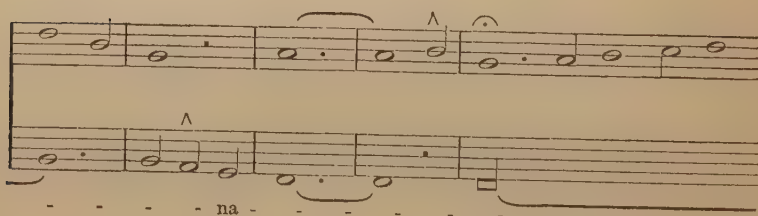
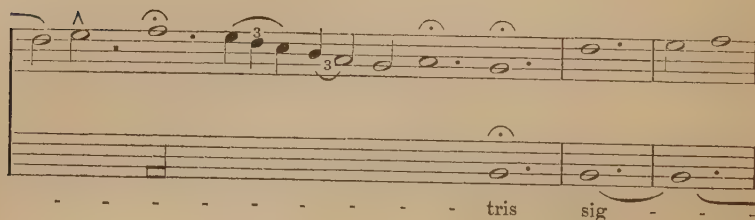
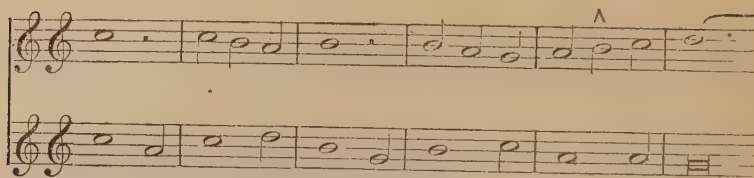
. . . . .

. . . . . vi . . . . . ni . . . . .

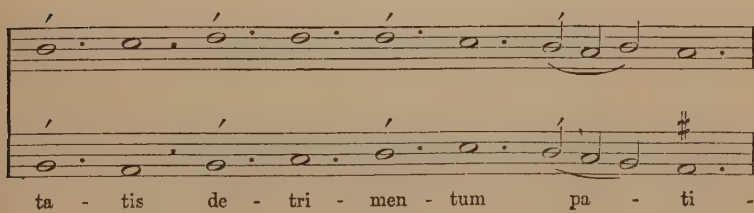
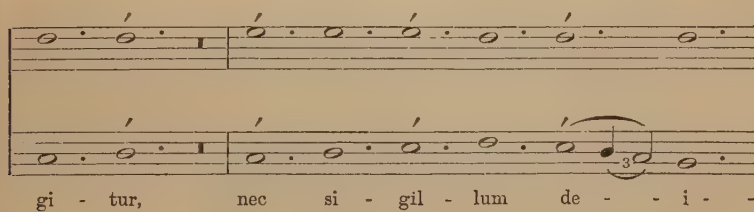
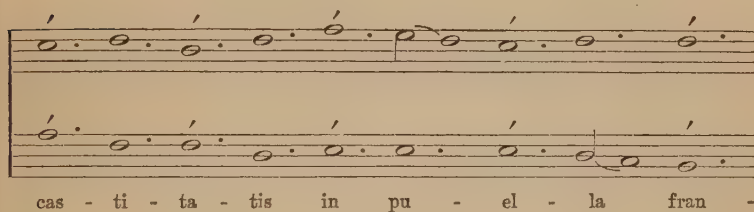
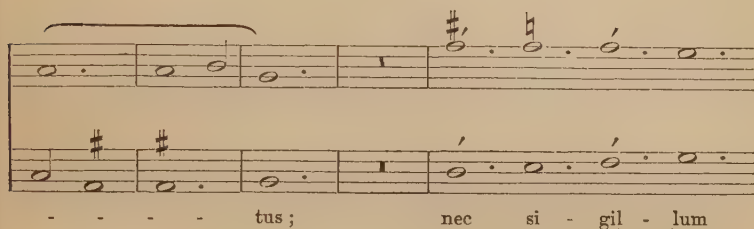
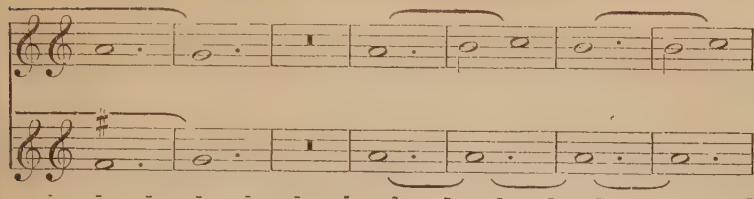


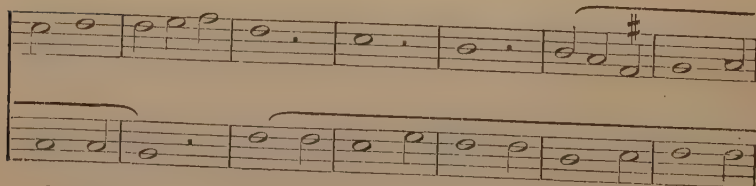
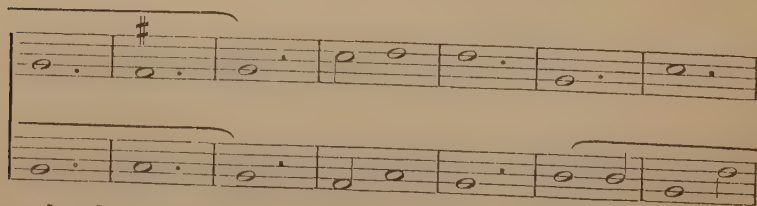
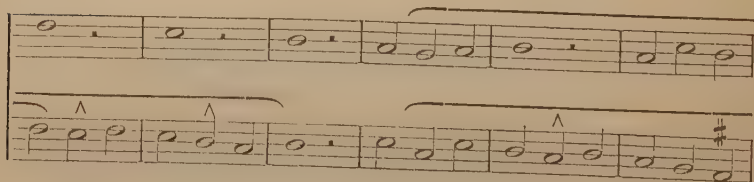
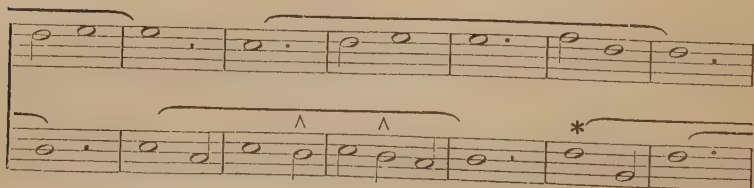
<sup>1</sup> Thus in the original.

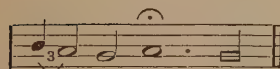
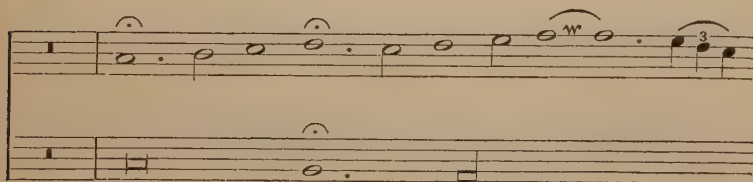
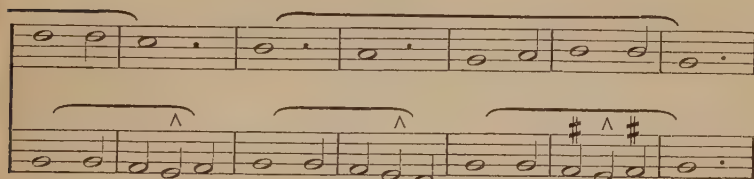
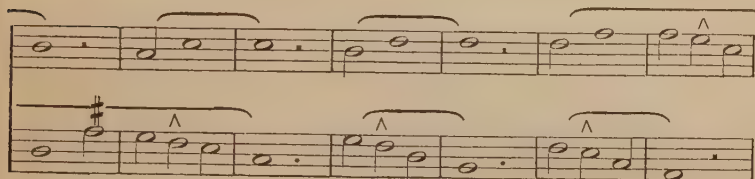
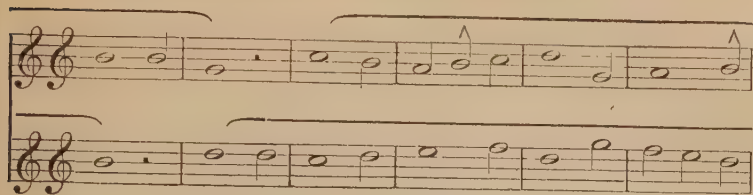
<sup>2</sup> A in the original.



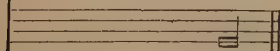








*Lente* . . .



tur.

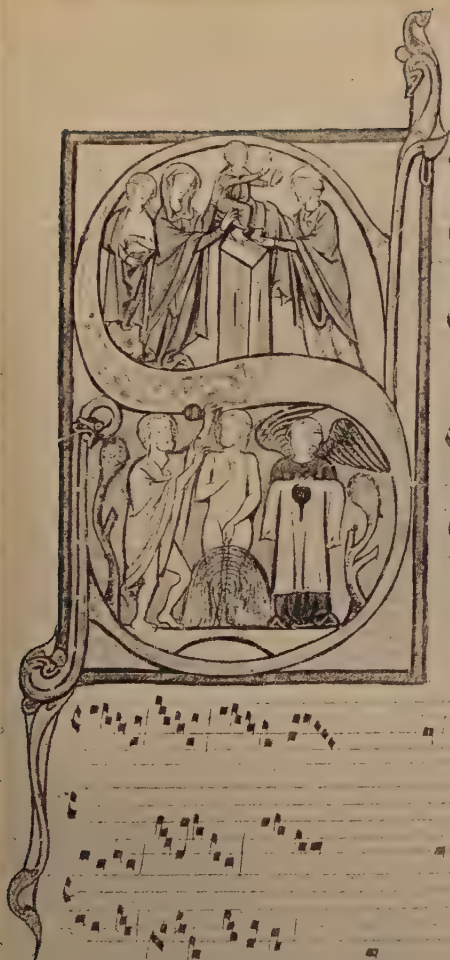
## CONDUCTUS TRIPLEX. SALVATORIS HODIE.

Bibl. Mediceo-Laurenziana,  
MS. Plut. 29. I, fol. cci.

Maitre Pérotin.

Sal - va - to - - ris ho - di - e

guis pre - gus - ta



Saluatoris hodie

sanguis procul

tur. In quo syon filie

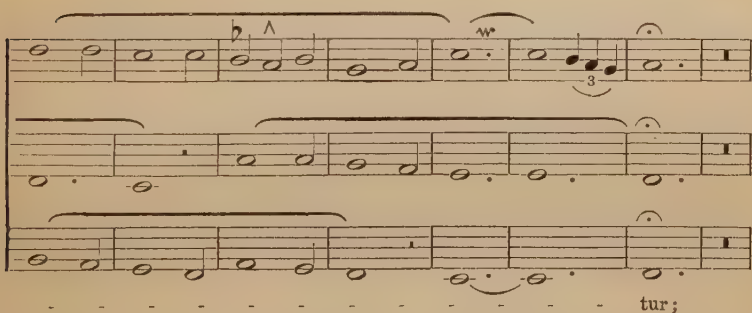
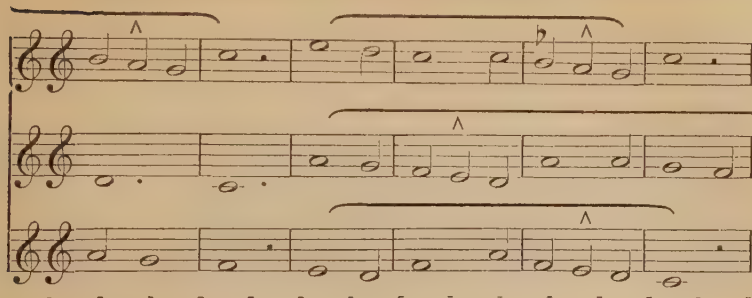
stola candida

'Salvatoris hodie' (Pérotin)

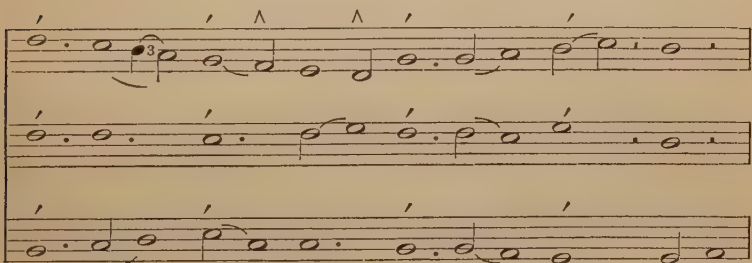
From a MS. in the Laurentian Library, Florence



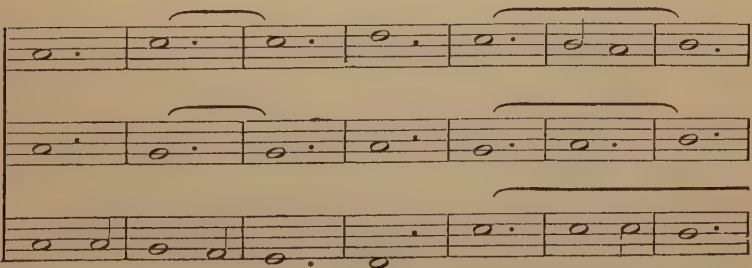




tur;



In quo Sy - on fi - li - e . . . .



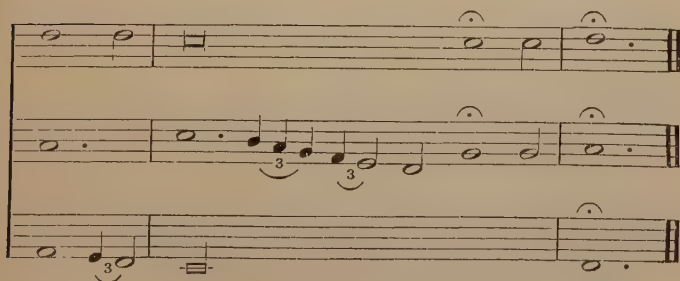
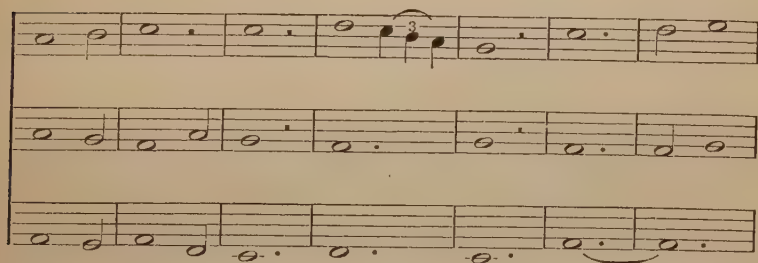
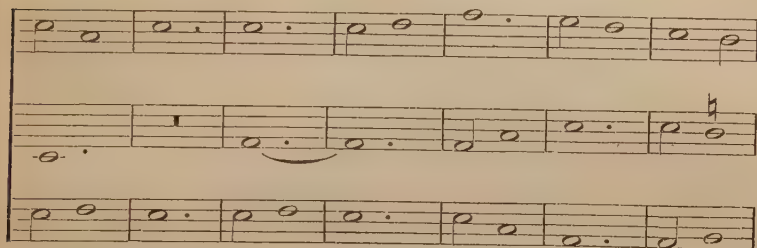
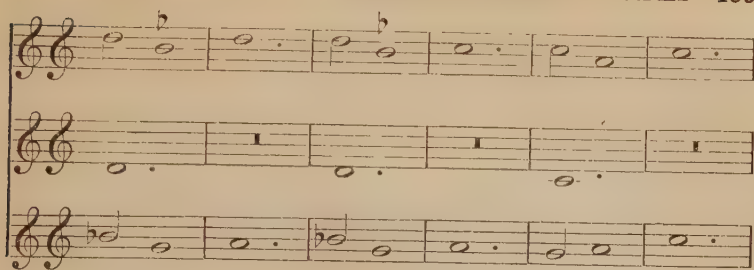
. . . . .

First system of musical notation, consisting of three staves. The top two staves are in treble clef, and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The music features various note values, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. A fermata is placed over a note in the bottom staff. Below the staves, there is a dotted line followed by the word "sto".

Second system of musical notation, consisting of three staves. The top two staves are in treble clef, and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The music features various note values, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. A fermata is placed over a note in the bottom staff. Below the staves, the lyrics "la can - di - da -" are written.

Third system of musical notation, consisting of three staves. The top two staves are in treble clef, and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The music features various note values, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. A fermata is placed over a note in the bottom staff. Below the staves, there is a dotted line.

Fourth system of musical notation, consisting of three staves. The top two staves are in treble clef, and the bottom staff is in bass clef. The music features various note values, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. Below the staves, there is a dotted line.



tur.

## CONDUCTUS QUADRUPLEX.

VETUS ABIT.


Bibl. Mediceo-Laurenziana,  
MS. Plut. 29. I, fol. x.

Ve - tus a - bit lit - te - ra, ri - tus a -

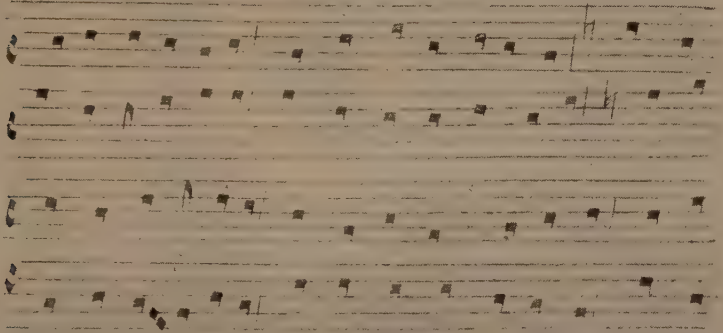
bit ve - te - rum, Dat Vir - go pu - er - pe -

ra no - vum no - bis pu - e - rum, Mu - nus sa -

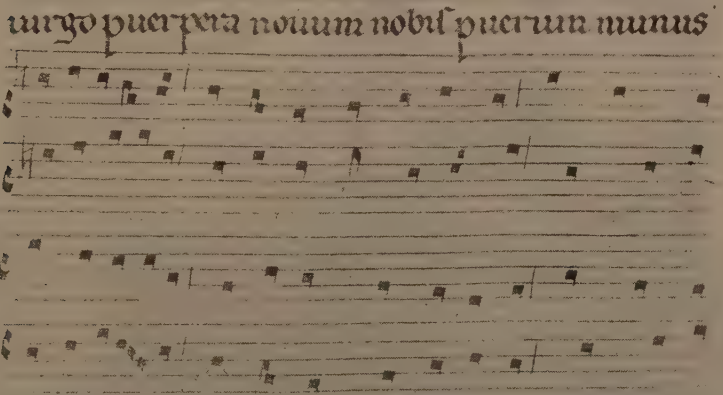




Vetus abit littera. vetus abit veterum. dat



virgo puerpera novum nobis puerum munus



salutiferum. regem et presbiterum. qui compla

‘Vetus abit’

From a MS. in the Laurentian Library, Florence



lu - ti - fe - rum, re - gem et pres - bi -

te - rum, qui com - pla - nans as - pe - ra, fir -

mat pa - cis fe - de - ra . . . , pur -

ga - tor est sce - le

rum.

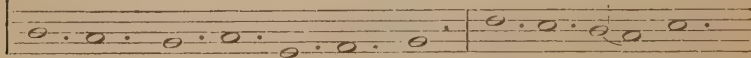
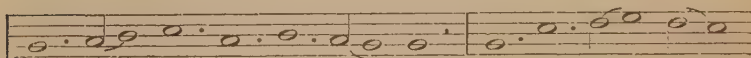
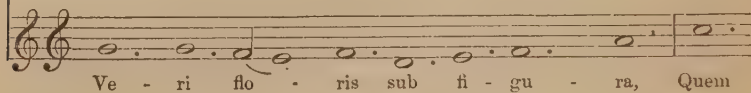
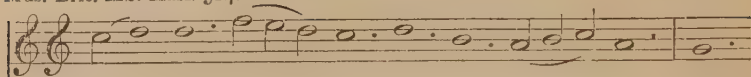
If we may define the *conductus*, in accordance both with the statements of the theorists and with the examples just given, as essentially a composition of equally free and flowing melodies in all the parts, in which the words are metrical and given to the lower voice only, we should necessarily include in this kind of music our former examples *Verbum bonum*, *Agnus fli*, and *Custodi nos*, which, if they be *conducti*, fall naturally into the subdivision *sine cauda*. These examples may therefore perhaps constitute our specimens of this class as it exists in the French collections. One more of the simple kind, written upon the hymn *Veri Floris*, will now be given from an English source, and a few others, also existing in our English libraries, which seem to display a tentative approach towards embellishment, and which therefore perhaps may be included in the subdivision *cum caudis*, will accompany it. Though derived from English sources these compositions, with one exception, display little variation from the French manner, and might very well be of French origin; but with regard to the single exception, which is undoubtedly by an English composer, since it is written to English words, a remarkable difference from the French manner is perceptible—a difference, it may be said, which is equally to be perceived in all specimens of the distinctly English music of this period which have been preserved. We here find ample proof of the predilection for the imperfect consonance of the third which was ascribed at this time to the English composers, and we may observe a method—peculiar apparently to our country—a symmetrical crossing of groups of notes, giving for instance *f g a* in one part and *a g f* in the other—which seems to have been designed in order to ensure their constant appearance. We may note, moreover, as characteristic of the English music, that the composition is written in one of the most usual ecclesiastical modes—in this case the seventh—but with B<sup>b</sup> at the signature.



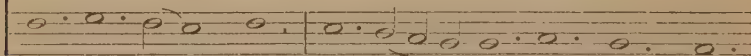
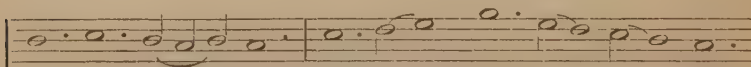
## CONDUCTUS DUPLEX.

VERI FLORIS.

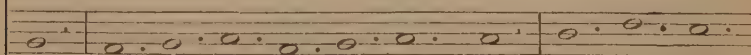
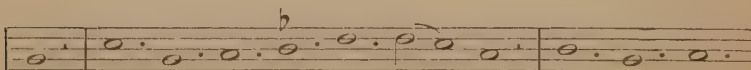
Mus. Brit. MS. Harl. 524.



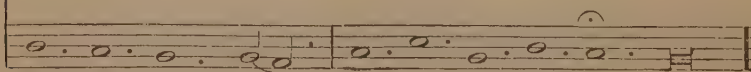
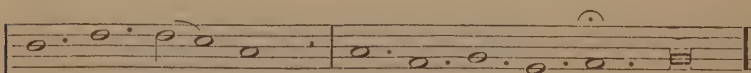
pro - dux - it ra - dix pu - ra, Cle - ri nos - tri



pi - a cu - ra Flo - rem fe - cit mis - ti -



cum, Pre - ter u - sum la - i - cum, Sen - sum tra -



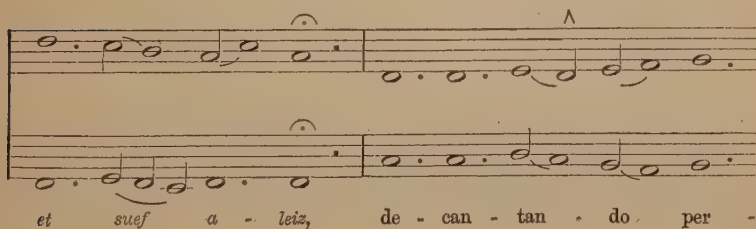
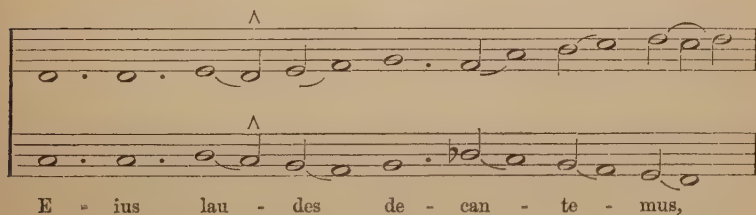
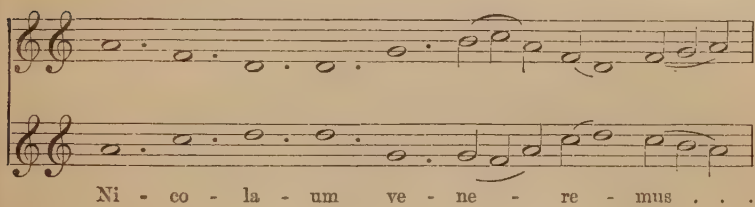
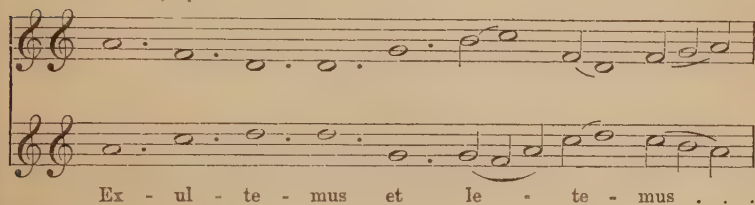
hens tro - pi - cum Flo - ris a na - tu - ra.

## CONDUCTUS DUPLEX.

EXULTEMUS<sup>1</sup>.

Cambridge Univ. Lib.

MS. Ff. 1, 17.



<sup>1</sup> It will be observed that the Latin stanza here given is complete in itself, and that the French phrases (which it may be said occur in all the stanzas of this hymn in the same situation) are interpolated.

di - ce - mus, et si m'en - ten -

deiz.

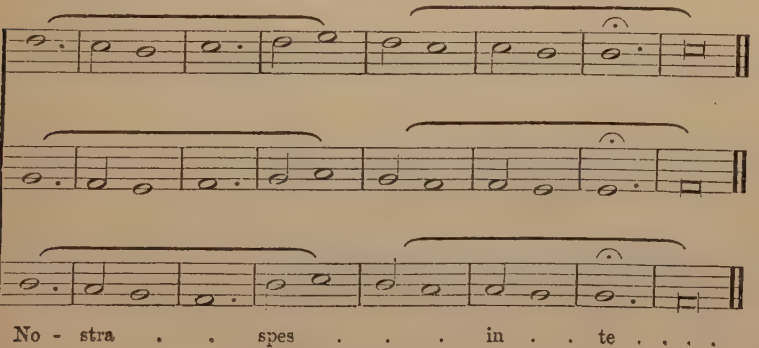
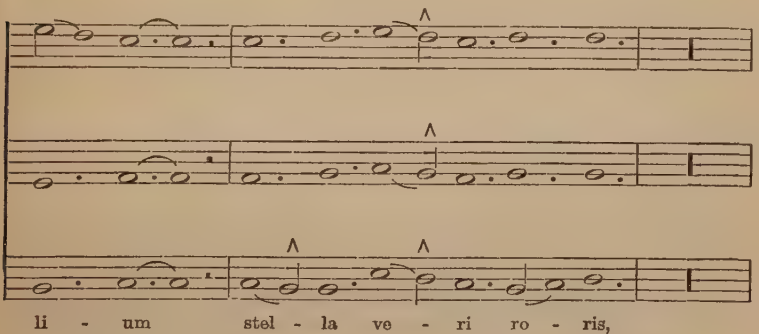
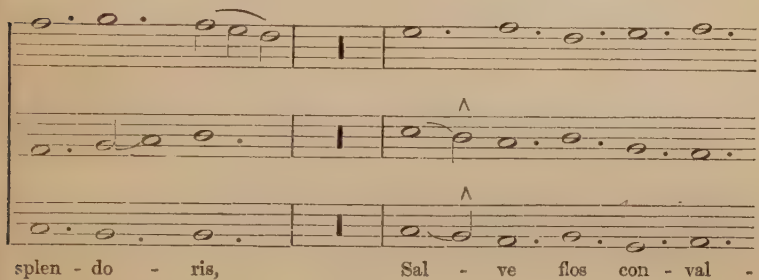
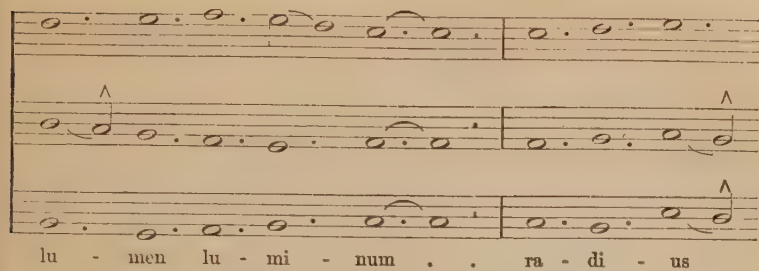
## CONDUCTUS TRIPLEX.

## SALVE VIRGO.

Mus. Brit. MS. Arundel 248.

Sal - ve vir - go vir - gi - num . . pa -

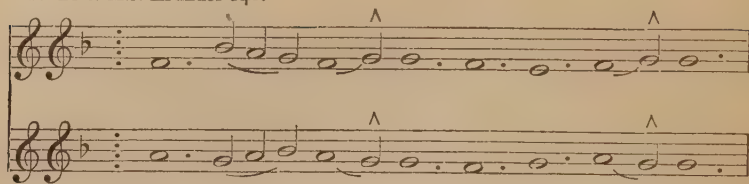
rens ge - ni - to - ris, Sal - ve



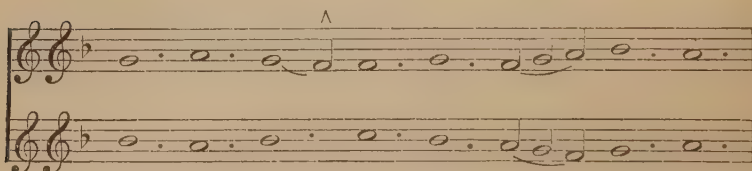
## CONDUCTUS DUPLEX.

## QUEN OF EVENE.

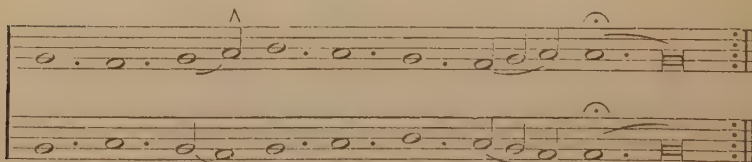
Mus. Brit. MS. Arundel 248.



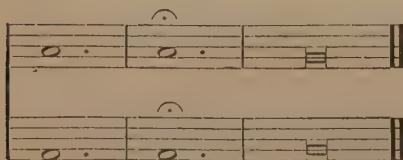
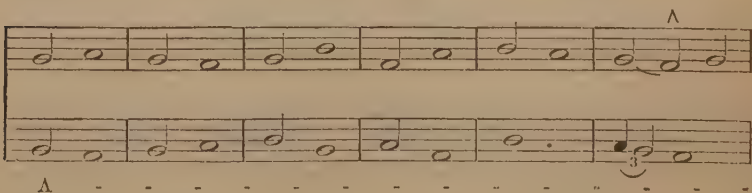
1. Quen of . . ev - ene for thi blis - se  
 2. Bring hus . . mo - der to thi so - ne



- Lithe al hu - re so - ri - - nes - se  
 Mak hus ev - re wit him . . wo - ne



- And went hur yvel al in - to . . gud . . .  
 That hus bou - te wit this . . . blud . . .



- - men . . . .



No compositions clearly to be identified as *conducti* and noted in accordance with the later settled rules have as yet been discovered, and we are therefore at present unable to give specimens of this kind of music illustrating the periods either of the Francos or of Odington. But from the example, small as it is, supplied by the latter theorist in his treatise<sup>1</sup>, we may perhaps gather that in his time a certain advance had been made—an advance in which probably all existing forms of composition shared—both in the character of the voice parts and in the general harmonic effect; for while the fragments of individual melody in that example may be said to display greater ease and independence of style than the earlier phrases, the harmony also is now apparently more complete, the common chord for instance being constantly employed in the place of the earlier bare fifth.

But although it is probable that with respect to the details of this kind of music, a certain amelioration might be perceived in later examples, if these could be discovered, it is not to be supposed that any structural improvement or general development indicative of life and progress would be observable, for there can be no doubt that already in the time of Odington both the great classical forms of composition—*Conductus* and *Organum purum*—had begun to suffer neglect, and were in fact passing out of use.

This may certainly be inferred from the statements of Odington's younger contemporary Jean de Muris, who in his great panegyric upon the older music—written about the middle of the fourteenth century, and probably soon after the death of the elder theorist—deplores the complete abandonment at that period of *Organum* and *Conductus*, and reveals, as regards the first of these, the almost entire ignorance of composers with respect even to its method. The *Motetus* he says

<sup>1</sup> See p. 138 of this work.

and the *Cantilena* now engaged exclusively the attention of musicians ; the old forms were quite laid aside, and, together with their authors, were treated with open contempt by the less able and less energetic musicians of the day<sup>1</sup>.

With regard to one of the two kinds of music mentioned by De Muris as usurping in his time the position formerly held by *Organum* and *Conductus*,—the *Cantilena*,—we are without exact information. That it was at that period no new form is evident from the reference to it in a passage already quoted in this work (p. 106, note) from *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis*; notwithstanding this fact, however, the definition of its distinctive character is nowhere to be found. From the coupling of the *Cantilena* with the *Rondel*, not only by the author of *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis* in the passage just referred to—in *cantilenis in rondellis et in cantu aliquo ecclesiastico*—but also, and with a significant addition, by Jean de Muris—in *conductis in motellis in fugis in cantilenis vel rondellis*—it has been supposed that the *cantilena* and the *rondel* were practically identical, but written in the one case to sacred and in the other to secular words<sup>2</sup>. But the evidence seems scarcely sufficient to support the conclusion, and the supposed distinction at least entirely disappears if we consider that in the rondels that are best known—those of Adam de la Hale, the

<sup>1</sup> ‘*Moderni nonne quasi solis utuntur motetis et cantilenis, nisi quod in motetis suis hoketos interferunt ? Sed cantus alios multos dimiserunt quibus in propria forma non utuntur sicut fecerunt antiqui, ut cantus organicos mensuratos vel non ubique mensuratos, ut est organum purum vel duplum de quo forsan pauci sciunt modernorum. Item conductos cantus ita pulchros, in quibus tanta delectatio est, qui sunt ita artificiales et delectabiles, duplices, triplices, et quadruplices. Item hoketos similiter duplices, contra duplices, triplices, quadruplices. In his antiqui cantores alternatim cantibus vacabant, in his exercebantur, in his delectabantur, non in solis motetis aut in cantilenis. Debentne illi dici rudes, idiote et ignorantes in arte cantandi, qui illos faciebant vel sciunt cantus et qui utebantur vel utuntur illis ?*’ *Speculum Musice*, Lib. vii. cap. 44.

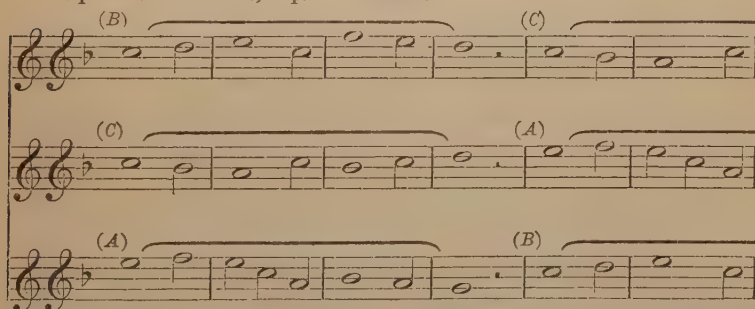
<sup>2</sup> By M. de Coussemaker ; see *L’Art Harmonique*, &c., pp. 187–8.

illustration given by Walter Odington in his chapter 'De Rondellis,' and the great English example 'Sumer is icumen in,' we find in the first case secular words, in the second sacred, and in the third both. This fact, however, does not touch the question respecting the musical identity of the two forms, which must still remain for the present undecided.

The method of the rondel is described by Walter Odington as follows : ' Let a melody, with or without a text, in one of the regular modes of rhythm, and as beautiful as possible, be devised, and let each voice sing this in turn. And at the same time let other melodies be devised to accompany it in the second and (if there be three voices) in the third voice ; let them proceed in consonances, and so that when one voice ascends another descends, and let the third not follow too closely the movement of either of the others, except perhaps for the sake of greater beauty. And let all of these melodies be sung by each voice in turn<sup>1</sup>.' His illustration of this theory is as follows :—

### RONDELLUS.

De Speculatione Musice, cap. *De Rondellis*.



<sup>1</sup> 'Rondelli sic sunt componendi : excogitetur cantus pulchrior qui possit, et disponatur secundum aliquem modorum predictorum, cum littera vel sine, et ille cantus a singulis recitetur ; tamen aptentur alii cantus in duplici aut triplici procedendo per consonantias, ut dum unus ascendit, alius descendit, vel tertius ita ut non simul descendat vel ascendant, nisi forte tamen maioris pulchritudinis, et a singulis singulorum cantus recitentur.' *Cousse. Script.* i. 247.

(A) (B) (E)

(C) (D)

(F) (D)

(E) (F)

(D) (E)

(F) (E)

A - ve

A - ve ma - ter Do - mi -

ma - ter Do - mi - ni.

(D)

A - ve ma - ter Do - mi - ni.

(E)

ni.

(F)

From this it appears that the *Rondel* of the learned composers was not, as following the analogy of the contemporary English *Rota* and the *Round* of more modern times we might perhaps have been inclined to suppose, a Canon, in which all the voices sing one melody, each entering upon it at regular intervals after the leader. Here the voices begin together, each singing its own melody, which is afterwards exchanged

for that of some other voice ; moreover, when the three original phrases have been sung by all the voices in turn their capabilities are seen to be exhausted, and fresh subjects are then invented and treated in the same manner as the first. The method therefore differs considerably from that of the canon, yet the final audible result is much the same—a species of double counterpoint, that is to say, in which each phrase of the music is displayed in three situations and in three different relations. It should, however, be remarked that the true effect of double counterpoint would only be produced by those choirs in which the various parts were sustained by voices of various pitch—tenor, counter-tenor, and treble for instance, or bass, tenor, and counter-tenor—as in more modern music.

That this method of execution by unequal voices existed, probably side by side with the more simple one indicated by the clefs employed, seems clear from several passages in the contemporary treatises, and chiefly in those of Jean de Garlande and the Anonymus of the British Museum (Royal MSS.). The account given by the Anonymus may perhaps be considered as decisive. He says : ‘ It is to be observed that three methods are adopted by discantors properly so called. The first method is by close proportions, and in this the discant keeps within the range of a fourth or fifth from the tenor ; another makes use of the more remote proportions, which are contained within the range of an octave from the tenor ; the third employs proportions still more remote, extending to a twelfth, a double octave, or even more, beyond the range of the tenor<sup>1</sup>.’ The first of these methods seems to apply either

<sup>1</sup> ‘ Notandum quod duplex (? triplex) est modus faciendi discantum secundum veros discantores. Primus modus est propinquus proportionibus, hoc est infra diatessaron vel diapente. Alius modus est ex remotioribus, que continentur sub diapason cum predictis. Tertius modus est ex remotissimis infra diapente cum diapason, vel duplex diapason, vel ultra,’ &c. *Cousse. Script.* i. 357.



to *duplum* or to equal voices in greater number ; the other two can only refer to unequal voices, and in fact describe the respective situations of the third and fourth parts, *triplum* and *quadruplum*. Of the more remote ranges, such as the *triplex diapason* for instance, the author says that they were rarely written for voices, but that they were commonly employed in playing upon organs, and also that even wider ranges still were possible to stringed and the smaller wind instruments, or upon the ‘ well-tuned cymbals <sup>1</sup>.’

No examples of the *rondel* entirely composed in the manner of Odington’s model have as yet been brought to light, nor can we even be said to be acquainted with any works at all bearing that name, except those of Adam de la Hale. These are of great interest in many respects, but in their examination we experience a disappointment. Considering their date—for Adam de la Hale was a contemporary of the two Francos—it might well be expected that these compositions<sup>2</sup> would throw some light upon the earlier practice of this kind of music—the *rondeau* as their author writing in the vernacular calls it—and we look with interest for some sign of the special treatment peculiar to it. Nothing of the sort, however, is to be discovered. We find the *rondeau* exhibited in two kinds, one of which is distinguished by its extreme brevity while the other is of moderate length, but it is evident that both derive their only title to their description from their text, which is in fact sometimes written in a rough kind of poetical *rondeau* form, and is in all cases apparently subject to a method of

<sup>1</sup> ‘ Ulteriori quidem processu, quidem raro, procedunt usque ad triplex diapason, quamvis in communi usu se habeat in instrumento organorum, et ulterius aliorum instrumentorum; et hoc numero cordarum vel fistularum ; vel prout in cimbaliis bene sonantibus, apud bonos musicos plenius habetur.’ *Cousse. Script. i.* 362.

<sup>2</sup> See ‘ Œuvres complètes du Trouvère Adam de la Halle,’ by M. de Coussemaker, Paris, 1872.

continued repetition to the same music, which might thus proceed interminably; musically speaking they are not *rondels* at all, but simple three-part songs, containing no interchange of melodies whatever, and no imitation except such as occurs within the limits of each separate part, from the repetition of its own phrases, in accordance with the poetical scheme of the text.

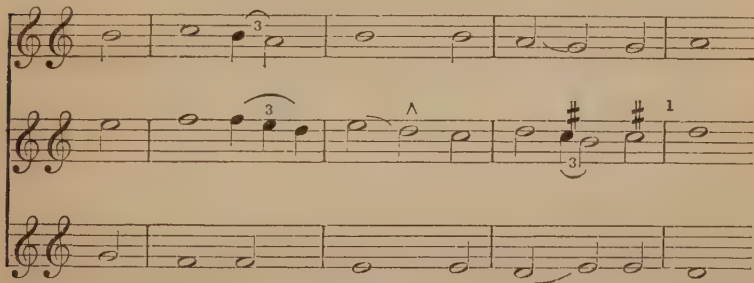
The briefer kind of *rondeau* may be exhibited in the following characteristic example, from a MS. in the Library of Cambrai, given in facsimile by M. de Coussemaker in his *Histoire de l'Harmonie au Moyen Âge*.

## RONDEAU.

HAREU LI MAUS.

Bibl. de Cambrai.

Adam de la Hale.



<sup>2</sup> Hareu li maus d'amer

M'ochist

Il me fait desirer

Hareu li maus d'amer

## Par un douch regarder

Me prist

Hareu li maus d'amer

M'ochist.

<sup>1</sup> The sharps are given from another version of this *rondeau* printed by M. de Coussemaker in his complete edition of the works of this composer.

<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to see how these lines, which are irregular, were intended to be applied to the regular forms of the music. It is possible that the music is a fragment of a more extended composition.

It would, of course, be perfectly possible to sing this music in canonic imitation, in the manner of the modern round, and the extreme brevity of the composition even suggests that it may have been treated in that manner, since otherwise the performance would have been finished within a few moments from the time of its commencement. This supposition cannot, however, be insisted upon, for it will be obvious from the example now to be given that the more extended kind of *rondeau* will not admit of a similar interpretation.

### RONDEAU.

#### FINES AMOURETES.

Bibl. de Cambrai.

Adam de la Hale.

The first system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). It contains a melody with several triplets marked with a '3' and a slur. The middle staff is a treble clef with a similar melody. The bottom staff is a treble clef with a similar melody. The lyrics 'Fi - nes a - mour - e - tes ai: Diex si ne' are written below the bottom staff, aligned with the notes.

Fi - nes a - mour - e - tes ai: Diex si ne

The second system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). It contains a melody with several triplets marked with a '3' and a slur. The middle staff is a treble clef with a similar melody. The bottom staff is a treble clef with a similar melody. The lyrics 'sai kant les ver - rai. Or man - de - rai m' - ami - et - e' are written below the bottom staff, aligned with the notes.

sai kant les ver - rai. Or man - de - rai m' - ami - et - e

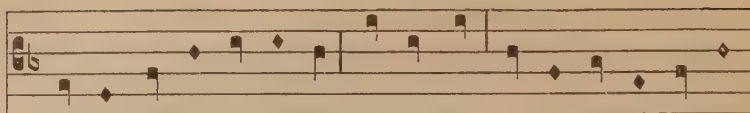
Ki est cointe et jo - li - e - te, Et s'est si sa - ve - rou -

se - te c'as - te - nir ne m'en po - rai. Fi - nes, &c.

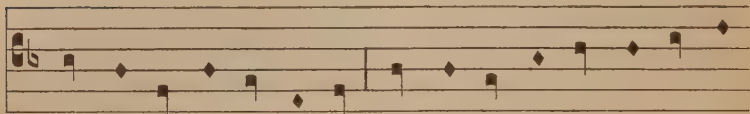
We may of course with certainty include among the *rondel* forms of music the great English *Rota* (as it is called by its author), 'Sumer is icumen in,' so often mentioned by historians and with ever-increasing surprise and admiration. It will here be shown both in the shape in which it stands in the original and also in that which it exhibits in performance according to the author's directions. And first we may examine the copy of the MS.

MS. Harl. (B. M.) 978, fol. 11<sup>b</sup>.

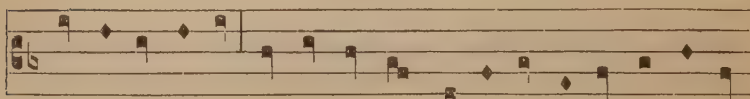
Su-mer is i - cum-en in, . . Lhude sing cuc-cu. Groweþ sed and bloweþ  
 Per-spi - ce chris - ti - co - la que dig-na - ti - o, Ce - ti - cus a - gri - co -



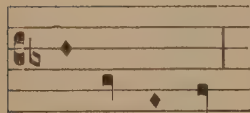
med and spring þe w - de nu Sing cuc - cu, Awe ble - teþ af - ter  
la pro vi - tis vi - ci - o Fi - li - o Non par - cens ex - po - su -



lomb, Lhouþ af - ter cal - ve cu. Bul - loc ster - teþ, bucke ver - teþ  
it Mor - tis ex - i - ci - o. Qui cap - ti - vos se - mi - vi - vos



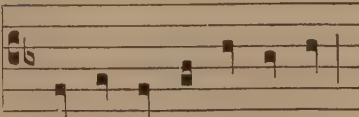
Mu - rie sing cuc - cu. Cuc - cu cuc - cu, wel singes þu cuc - cu ne swik  
a sup - pli - ci - o Vi - te do - nat, et se - cum co - ro - nat in ce -



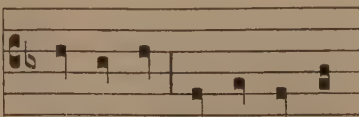
þu na - ver nu.  
li so - li - o.

Hanc rotam cantare possunt quatuor socii. A paucioribus autem quam a tribus vel saltem duobus non debet dici preter eos qui dicunt pedem. Canitur autem sic: Tacentibus ceteris, unus inchoat cum his qui tenent pedem; et cum venerit ad primam notam post crucem inchoat alius, et sic de ceteris. Singuli vero repaudent ad pausaciones scriptas, et non alibi, spatio unius longe note.

Pes. {



Sing cuc - cu nu. Sing cuc - cu.



Sing cuc - cu. Sing cuc - cu nu.

{ Hoc repetit unus quociens  
opus est, faciens pausacionem  
in fine.

{ Hoc dicit alius, pausans in  
medio et non in fine, sed im-  
mediate repetens principium.



This amazing production, the sole example probably of its species, which exhibits the leading qualities of this kind of music, ingenuity and beauty, in a degree still difficult to realize as possible to a thirteenth-century composer, unites two distinct technical methods, namely that of Odington, and that which was suggested as possible in the case of the short *rondeaux* of Adam de la Hale. Odington's method is seen in the music of the two lower voices ; for this, consisting as it does of two melodies which begin together and are afterwards repeatedly interchanged, constitutes a true *rondel*, though restricted to the original subjects and in two parts only. The method on the other hand which was suggested as possible in the shorter *rondeaux* of Adam de la Hale is seen, though now upon a magnificent scale, in the four upper parts. These display a true canon in the unison ; since the melody, consisting of two independent stanzas, is begun by the leader alone, and taken up by the rest in turn, each entering at his appointed interval of time and upon the same note of the scale. There is no break in the canon, which is strict throughout, and ceases only with the last note of the complete melody, sung by the leader. The melody of the canon is in the first mode of rhythm, alternate long and breve ; that of the *rondel* or *pes* is in the fifth mode, all longs—with the exception of the binary ligatures ; and in both cases the long pause, the *pausa debita* of both modes, is employed.

Although the original MS. copy of this composition has often been made the subject of description and comment, one remarkable feature, the alteration that is to say which has taken place in the notation of certain portions, may perhaps still be referred to with advantage.

There are two kinds of alteration in the MS. ; alteration after erasure, and alteration without erasure. The alterations of the first kind were described by Mr. Rockstro, but with no

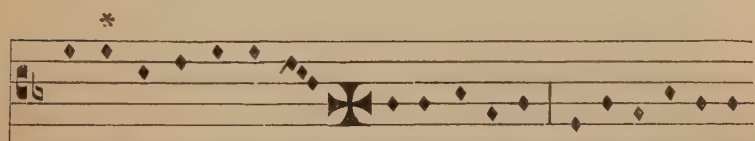
account of their effect upon the composition, in his article upon the *Rota* published in Sir G. Grove's *Dictionary of Music*; and in the notes to the Plainsong Society's volume, *Early English Harmony*, edited by the present writer, attention was also briefly drawn to the alterations without erasure. Both kinds may now be rather more fully discussed.

We may take the latter kind first. It is evident, from a consideration of the alterations without erasure, which by a more or less adroit stroke of the pen have transformed certain lozenges into longs, that the *rota* when originally set out upon the page contained very few longs. The notes which occupied the space of a 'perfection,'—those of the *pes* and of its echo in the canon, and the notes at the end of sections,—were alone written according to their real value as longs; all the rest of the music, which is in trochaic rhythm, was expressed, except in the case of the two ligatures in the *pes*, by means of simple lozenges. The notes of the greater part of the composition therefore had no value of their own, but were intended merely to indicate the place of the sound in the scale, the fixed metre of the words supplying the necessary measures of time. This method—which appears also, applied sometimes to exceedingly complicated metres, in the Florence MS.—is obviously closely allied to that of plainsong, and must therefore be of great antiquity; and although it would certainly be rash to assume that this fact affords any reason for supposing the MS. to be of an earlier date than that now generally assigned to it (about 1240)—since upon this point the palaeographical evidence may be considered as conclusive—the appearance of this ancient method in the first writing out of our example may well suggest a doubt with respect to the composition of the *rota* itself, which has hitherto been supposed to be not only of the same date as the MS. in which it is found, but the actual invention of the writer whose hand has preserved it.

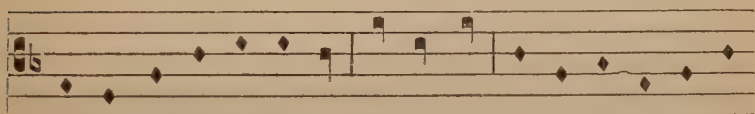
The erasures, and subsequent alterations of the melody, may perhaps be ascribed to the reformer of the notation. They are probably not earlier, since their author, though he still writes lozenges for breves<sup>1</sup>, expresses the long note of the rhythm by means of its proper figure.

The alterations of both kinds may perhaps best be shown in an attempt to restore the canon to the shape in which it first appeared in the MS. ; and this may be compared with the illustration of its present condition just given on p. 177.

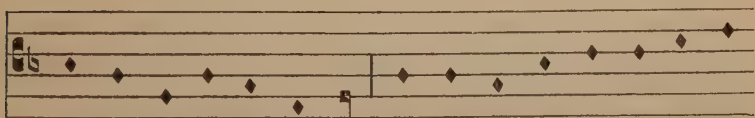
PROBABLE FORM OF THE CANON BEFORE ALTERATION.



Su - mer is i - cum-en in, Lhude sing cuc-cu. Groweþsed and bloweþ  
*Per - spi-ce chris - ti - co - la que dig-na - ti - o, Ce - li - cus a - gri - co -*



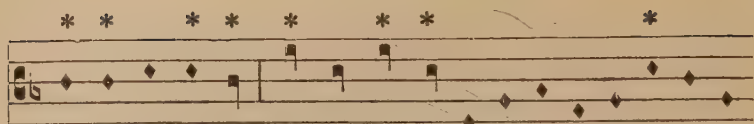
med and springþ the w - de nu. Sing cuc - cu, Awe ble - teþ af - ter  
*la pro vi - tis vi - ci - o fi - li - o Non par - cens ex - po - su -*



lomb, lhouþ af - ter cal - ve cu. Bul - loc ster - teþ, bucke ver - teþ  
*it mor - tis ex - i - ci - o. Qui cap - ti - ros se - mi - vi - ros*

<sup>1</sup> The reformer of the notation, having altered those lozenges which represented the long note of rhythm, allowed the remaining ones to stand for breves ; lozenges were then used also in the same sense in the alterations of the melody, apparently to avoid confusion.

\* Note afterwards erased and replaced by another.



And here, before passing on, we may refer for a moment to the character of the melody, which, joined to the bucolic sentiment of the poem, is so largely responsible for another prevailing notion with respect to this composition, namely that the subject of the canon, whether actually manipulated in the existing MS. or not, is probably a popular pastoral song which has been adapted to a contrapuntal purpose. We now see that this popular and pastoral character may very well be purely accidental; for in the specimens of *Organum purum*, for instance, and of the *Conductus*, which have been given in the present work—and especially in those of the measured portions of *Organum*—we may find in abundance passages exactly similar in character to those of the *rota*. All that we can say therefore of the lilting phrases of the *rota* is that the character which they display would appear to be that which is natural and proper to the first or Trochaic mode of rhythm, since it seems to be necessarily developed by that mode in every kind of music in which it is employed, whether ecclesiastical or secular.

The rendering in modern notation of the music of the *rota*, which next follows, has been influenced in one or two respects by a consideration of the fact that the emphatic rhythm of the melody was originally expressed by signs destitute of mensural value, and that the trochaic metre of the poem affords the only key to the notation. In this point of view it has been considered probable that the binary ligatures with propriety and perfection which are employed in the composition should be translated as trochees, and not according to the settled mensural rules, which would interpret them as iambi; and this view is apparently sanctioned by Jean de Garlande, a theorist contemporary with the writer of the MS., who systematically employs such ligatures to express trochees in one of his illustrations of the first mode of rhythm, the mode



in fact in which, as has been said, the canon is written. Furthermore it has been considered that the little figure which occurs immediately before the cross, consisting of three lozenges of which the first has an oblique *tractus*, should also, as part of the original notation, be translated apart from mensural rule and exhibited as three equal breves. It will be found that these departures from recent custom create improvements not only in the rhythmic flow of the composition but often also in the harmonic effect.

Concerning the authorship of the *rota* and its place of origin nothing entirely convincing can be said at present. It seems indeed very possible that the page of MS. which contains it may have been written in Reading Abbey, and that the alterations may also have been made there; it is even possible that the writer of the MS. may have been—as is now generally supposed—one John of Fornsete, though it must be confessed that the evidence upon which this attribution rests appears upon consideration to be somewhat fantastic. The identification of the scribe, however, is of no real importance unless it can be shown that the invention either of the canon, or of the alterations, or both, is due to him, and this, though suggested, has not as yet been satisfactorily demonstrated<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> It should, however, be mentioned that the suggestion that the *rota* may have been actually composed in Reading derives a certain measure of support from a consideration of the words, which Professor J. Wright pronounces to be 'thirteenth century Wessex; Berkshire, or Wiltshire.'

ROTA.

SUMER IS ICUMEN IN.

Mus. Brit. MSS. Harl. 978.

Su - mer is i - cu - men in . . . Lhude sing Cu -

Su - mer is i -

PES.

Sing Cu - cu nu, sing Cu -

Sing Cu - cu; Sing Cu -

cu; Grow - eth sed and blow - eth med, And

cu - men in . . . Lhude sing Cu - cu;

Su - mer is i - cu - men in . . .

cu; Sing Cu - cu nu,

cu nu, sing Cu - cu;

springth the w - de nu; Sing Cu - -

Grow - eth sed and blow - eth med, Andspringth the w - de

Lhude sing Cu - cu; Grow - eth sed and

Su - mer is i - cu - men in . . , Lhude sing Cu -

sing Cu - cu; Sing Cu - -

Sing Cu - cu nu, sing Cu - -

cu; Awe ble - teth af - ter lomb, Lhouth

nu; Sing Cu - cu.

blow - eth med and springth the w - de nu;

cu; Grow - eth sed and blow - eth med, and

cu nu, sing Cu - cu;

cu; Sing Cu - cu nu,

af - ter cal - ve cu; Bul - loc ster - teth,

Awe ble - teth af - ter lomb, Lhouth af - ter cal - ve

Sing Cu - cu, Awe ble - teth

springth the w - de nu; Sing Cu - -

Sing Cu - cu nu, sing Cu - -

sing Cu - cu; Sing Cu - -

bucke ver - teth, Mu - rie sing Cu - cu.

cu; Bul - loc ster - teth bucke ver - teth,

af - ter lomb, Lhouth af - ter cal - ve cu;

cu. Awe ble - teth af - ter lomb, Lhouth

cu; Sing Cu - cu nu,

cu nu, sing Cu - cu;

Cuc - cu, Cuc - cu, wel sing - es thu

Mu - rie sing Cu - cu. Cu - cu,

Bul - loc ster - teth, bucke ver - teth, Mu - rie sing Cu -

af - ter cal - ve cu. Bul - loc ster - teth,

sing Cu - cu; Sing Cu - -

Sing Cu - cu nu, sing Cu - -

Cuc - cu, Ne swik thu na - ver nu.

Cu - cu, Wel singes thu Cuc - cu.

cu. Sing Cu - cu.

bucke ver - teth, Mu - rie sing Cu - cu.

cu nu, sing Cu - - cu.

cu; Sing Cu - - cu.



CLOSING PORTION OF EARLIER VERSION.

\* \* \* \* \*

Mu - rie sing Cuc - cu, Cuc - -

Bul - loc ster - teth, bucke ver - teth, Mu - rie

af - ter cal - ve cu, Bul - loc

Awe ble - teth af - ter lomb, Lhouth af - ter

Sing Cuc - cu nu, Sing

Sing Cuc - cu, Sing

\* \*

cu, Cuc - cu Wel sing - es thu Cuc - -

\* \* \*

sing Cuc - cu Cuc - cu, Cuc - -

\* \* \*

ster - teth, bucke ver - teth, Mu - rie sing Cuc - cu

cal - ve cu, Bul - loc ster - teth, bucke

Cuc - cu, Sing Cuc - cu

Cuc - cu nu Sing Cuc - cu.

cu ne swik thu na - ver nu.

cu, Wel sing - es thu cu :-

Cuc - cu, Cu -

ver - teth, Mu - rie sing Cuc - cu.

nu, Sing Cuc - cu.

Sing Cuc - cu.

Two forms of composition still remain to be noticed, *Organum communiter sumptum*, and the Motett.

As regards the first it must be said that its nature cannot at present be indicated with certainty. Hitherto we have been fortunate upon the whole in our identifications; but the circumstance through which we were enabled partly to define and to exhibit *Organum purum* and *Conductus*—namely the mention in a contemporary treatise of individual compositions still in existence, as examples of those forms, has no parallel in this occasion, since no writer refers to individual compositions of *Organum communiter sumptum*. Indeed the only definite mention of this form by name, which occurs in *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis*, is purely general, and of no use to us in the absence of specimens; while on the other hand, in the music itself of this period which has been preserved, we do not at present perceive any class of works which might appear from their nature to constitute the examples of which we stand in need.

*Organum communiter sumptum* is included by the author of

*Ars Cantus Mensurabilis* among those forms of composition in which all the parts have the same words,<sup>1</sup> and is further defined as 'an ecclesiastical cantus measured in time<sup>2</sup>'; it is contrasted moreover with *Organum purum vel proprie sumptum*, in which only the tenor has words and the notes of the plainsong are of indefinite length. Yet it is not to be found, as we might perhaps have been inclined to suppose, in the measured portions of such compositions as *Iudea et Ierusalem* or *Constantes estote*, since these do not fulfil the requisite conditions with respect to the words; nor, considering that *organum communiter sumptum* is probably the same as the *organum rectum* of Jean de Garlande<sup>3</sup> and the 'pure' *organum* of *Discantus Positio Vulgaris*<sup>4</sup>, can we safely identify it with the old ecclesiastical *organum* of note against note in concords and contrary movement, since *organum rectum* and 'pure' *organum* would seem to be clearly described in the treatises as displaying the plainsong in perfect longs, and the discant in imperfect longs and breves. It must be confessed, however, that this method also would seem to be inconsistent with the employment of the same words in all the parts.

It would serve no useful purpose, in the present state of our knowledge, to discuss this matter further; we may proceed therefore at once to the examination of the motett, concerning which, fortunately, our information is if not exhaustive, at least comparatively considerable.

The motett was distinguished, apparently, by two well-marked peculiarities, one of which is indicated in *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis*, where in the list of musical forms *Motetus* appears as the only member of a class in which each voice has its own special words, and the other in the earlier treatise *Discantus Positio Vulgaris*, where this kind of composition is said

<sup>1</sup> See p. 106 of the present work.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 109.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 111.

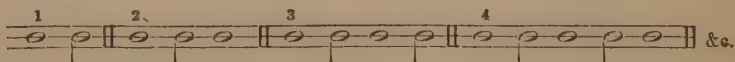
<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 108.

to be made upon a measured *cantus firmus* whose notes are arranged in certain fixed forms.<sup>1</sup> This latter view is also that of Walter Odington, who moreover adds the information that the substance of the tenor must be some known song.<sup>2</sup> A separate text for each voice, then, and a tenor arranged in definite recurring figures, are the distinctive features of the motett; and of these the latter, as most important in our immediate point of view, may first be considered.

Two examples of the tenors of motetts, displaying fixed recurring forms throughout, have already been given in this work (pp. 68–9), and in the remarks also by which these were accompanied a motive was suggested for the employment of the method, namely the desire to communicate life and meaning to melodies without words, in metrical rhythm. The actual appearance and probable intention of these fixed figures, therefore, being to some extent known to the reader, we may proceed to demonstrate the system of which they are a part, and through which alone they perform their office.

This system was known to the treatise writers as the system of *ordines*, or regular arbitrary dispositions of the contents of the rhythmic mode. It corresponds roughly to the poet's treatment of the metrical part of verse, and consists in a demarcation of the contents of the mode, by means of pauses, in sections of various length; and thus the metre is brought to express, apart from words, distinct and intelligible ideas.

The nature of the process may be indicated in the following manner :—



<sup>1</sup> 'Motetus vero est super determinatas notas firmi cantus mensuratas,' &c. *Cousse. Script.* i. 96.

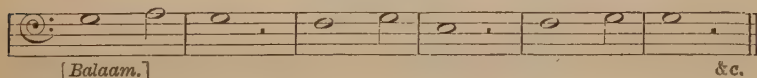
<sup>2</sup> 'Moteti fiunt cum littera in aliquo modorum. Sumatur aliquis cantus notus pro tenore, aptus melo, et in certo modo disponatur.' *Cousse. Script.* i. 248.

It will be obvious that here two kinds of musical ideas, represented by the first and third of these *ordines* on the one hand and the second and fourth on the other, are expressed : in the first kind the phrase ends with the second or weak beat of the foot, while in the other it returns to the first or strong beat ; and since the idea conveyed by the latter method is the more complete and satisfactory of the two, a mode divided into *ordines* of this construction is called *perfect*, while the opposite method, in which the *ordo* ends with the weak beat, constitutes the mode as *imperfect*<sup>1</sup>. Each occurrence of the rhythmical group (or *ordo*) was defined by rests, interposed between it and the next occurrence in such a manner that the rests—by completing the measure in the perfect *ordines*, or by interpolating a measure in the imperfect *ordines*—enabled the following group to begin on the strong beat :—

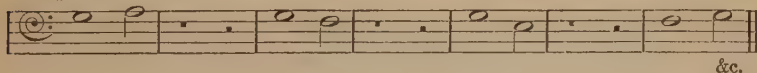
## ORDINES OF THE MODES PERFECT AND IMPERFECT.

Perfect.

FIRST MODE.



Imperfect.



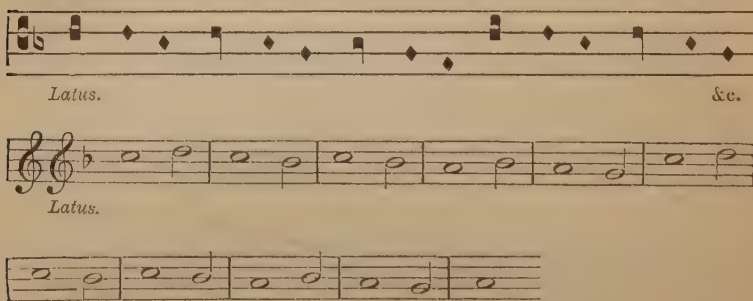
Such then being the system of *ordines* or modal phrases which governs the external form of the tenor of the motett,

<sup>1</sup> 'Modus perfectus dicitur esse, quodcumque ita est quod aliquis modus desinit per talem quantitatem vel per talem modum, sicuti per illam qua incipit. Dicitur modus perfectus, ut dicatur prima longa, altera brevis, et altera longa; et sic de singulis modis vel maneriebus. Omnis modus dicitur imperfectus quodcumque ita est, quod aliquis modus desinit per aliam quantitatem quam illam qua incipit; ut cum dicatur prima longa, altera brevis, altera longa et altera brevis.' J. de Garlande, *Cousse. Script.* i. 176.



we may next proceed to deal with the question which naturally arises respecting this part of the composition—what is the nature of its substance, and from whence is it derived ?

The question is answered by Jean de Garlande, who defines the chief points—the nature of the substance, its origin, and its relation to the external form, in precise though apparently enigmatic words. His account may first be given, and afterwards we may undertake its elucidation. ‘The *ordo*,’ he says, ‘proceeds from an *original*, and the original from a *root*. The *root* consists of a given *cantus*’<sup>1</sup>. His example follows :—



From this example we perceive that the author has taken a passage, apparently of plainsong, as his root, and, regardless of its former purpose and meaning, has rearranged it in a mode of rhythm ; and in this form it becomes the *original*, from which *ordines* may be derived by means of interpolated pauses at proper intervals. The particular fragment of plainsong here utilized is evidently indicated by the word ‘*Latus*,’ and for the explanation of this we must go to the Anonymus of the British Museum, the commentator of Jean de Garlande,<sup>2</sup> who

<sup>1</sup> ‘*Ordo modorum est numerus punctorum ante pausationem ; iste ordo dividitur in primum, secundum et tertium, &c. Ordo autem procedit ab uno principio ; principium a radice. Radix est quilibet cantus primo datus.*’ *Cousse. Script.* i. 98.

<sup>2</sup> Much of the purely technical instruction given by the Anonymus is

has dealt rather more fully than his master with this question, and who indeed actually describes the method of proceeding.

From the treatise of the Anonymus it appears that ' *Latus* ' was the name of one of the tropes, or long florid passages of plainsong unbroken by pauses and taken upon a single syllable of text, which are found so frequently in the ritual music of the Church ; these received as names the syllables upon which they occurred in the ecclesiastical *cantus*, and retained them even after their conversion to the purposes of measured music. The words of this author are sufficiently clear. ' Take then,' he says, ' one of these tropes, such, for instance, as *Latus* which is obtained from the antiphon *Immolatus est Christus*, and write the notes down ; then afterwards set them out in other figures, unless those in which they appear should be sufficient, as best suits the modal *ordo* that you desire.'

Elsewhere, in describing the composition of a discant in the first mode, the author gives an even more explicit account of the method. ' Let the tenor be thus : F, G, F, D, F, followed by the breve pause, then F, F, A, G, F, with the breve pause ; and by this we may understand the second *ordo* of the first mode to be intended. And it is called *Omnes*, like its root which is extracted from *Viderunt Omnes* ; and so, being repeated twice, three times, or more, it will be sufficient so far as the tenor is concerned.' Below will be found the passage (from the Gradual for Christmas Day) to which the author little more than a full and clear exposition of the teaching of Jean de Garlande. Yet, strangely enough, the Anonymus, who has recorded the names of so many of the musicians of this period, and is in fact the only author of the time who seems to have possessed any historical knowledge worth speaking of, is apparently ignorant of the name of the man upon whose doctrine his own is founded. He knows de Garlande only as ' the author of the treatise which begins *Habito de ipsa plana musica que immensurabilis respectu dicitur*.'

refers, and also the tenor made from it according to his directions.

\* . . . . \*

Vi-de-runt Om - - - nes fi - nes ter - - - rae.

[Omnes.]

The repetitions of the subject here recommended are a necessary feature of the process. Few tropes were in themselves of sufficient length to serve as material for the whole of the tenor of a motett unless set out in very long notes, as for instance in the Motett *Radix veniae*, presently to be given in this work, where *Latus* appears in an extraneous mode composed of longs and double longs. As a rule, therefore, the subject was repeated at least once. This might be done either openly or in a disguised manner; in the former case the *ordines* were so arranged that the last notes of the subject coincided with the conclusion of an *ordo* and the beginning of the next *ordo* with the first notes of the repetition, in the latter the end of the subject and the beginning of the repetition were made to occur within the limits of an *ordo*, thus effectually concealing the fact of repetition in the *ordines* which followed, and giving to notes already heard, in the same sequence as before but now differently divided, the appearance of complete novelty.

A few more examples of the tropes used as tenors, with their reconstruction in modal form, may be given.

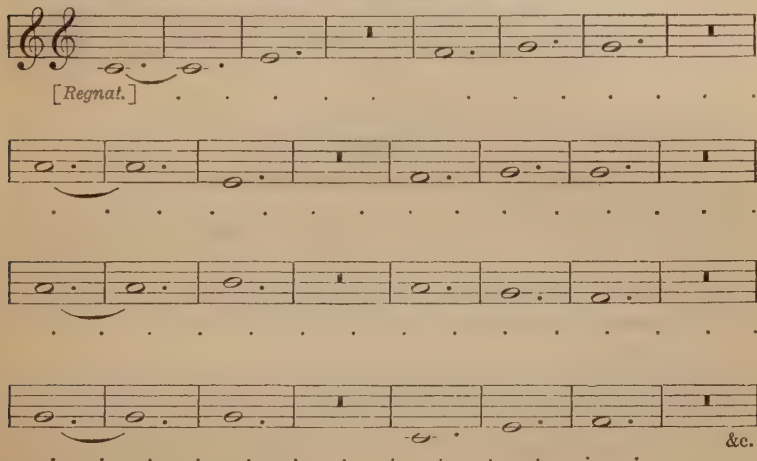
REGNAT.

*From the Alleluia of the Assumption.*



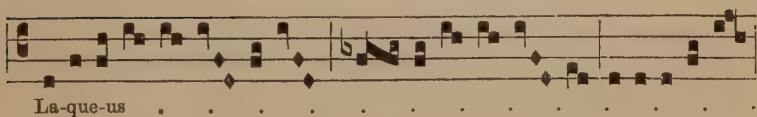
An Extraneous Mode founded on the Fifth.

From the Motett *Flos de Spina*, Montpellier MS., fol. 78<sup>b</sup>.



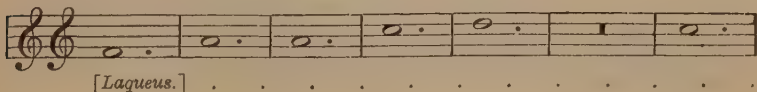
LAQUEUS.

*From the Gradual of Holy Innocents.*



Fifth Mode Perfect, second Ordo.

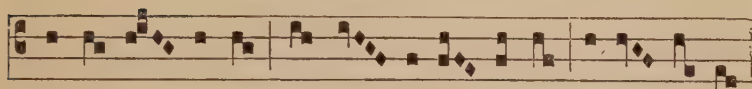
DE GARLANDE's example.



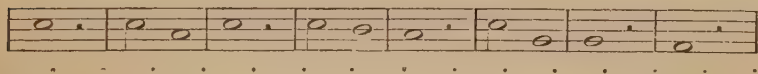
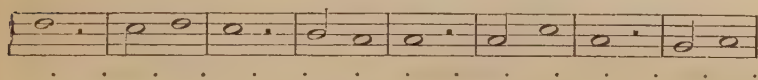
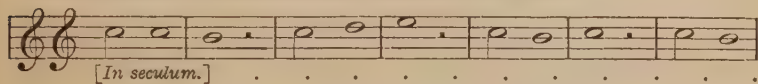




## IN SECULUM.

*From the Gradual of Easter Day.*

Fourth Mode Imperfect, first Ordo.

From the Motett *In omni fratre tuo*, Montpellier MS., fol. 66<sup>b</sup>.

We have now obtained a fairly clear idea of the nature of the music written for the tenor in the motett. We recognize its origin in the ritual music of the Church, and we perceive the method also by which it has been brought to exhibit its characteristic form in measured music; we may therefore next proceed to consider for a moment the questions relating to the management of the words which belong to it.

The text of the tenor is represented almost always in the motett by a syllable, or word, or at most two words, placed under the opening notes, by way of indication. Yet we have seen that the quantity of text existing in the root from which the tenor is taken may vary considerably in different cases. It may in fact consist not only of a single syllable or a single word, but may also include a whole sentence, or even—as in *Balaam*—a complete section of a composition in which every note has a syllable of text. In what sense then are we to understand the guiding word in the tenor of the motett?

Does it imply a reference to the complete words of the root, and are these, whether many or few in number, supposed to be sung throughout to their proper notes in the tenor, from the memory of the experienced singer? Or is it to be taken literally, and are we to suppose that even when many of the notes in the original passage have words, only the initial or guiding word or phrase is to be regarded, and the whole of the tenor then carried upon a single syllable?

The main question may perhaps be decided by a reference to the fact that the tenor of the motett is invariably written, in all modes which admit of the practice, in ligature; even in the fifth mode, consisting of perfect longs, the first *ordo* of the perfect—a very popular form of tenor—was always, before the time of Franco, represented by the ternary ligature with propriety and perfection proper to the fourth mode. Therefore, considering that the existence itself of a ligature depends upon its representation of a modulated but unbroken sound, it is clear that a passage written in ligatures throughout is from beginning to end ‘*sine littera*.’ Nor does the separation of the ligatures by means of pauses appear to afford any means of escape from this conclusion, for even if we suppose the text to be now set out above the detached figures of the tenor, syllable by syllable, it is evident that the words in that case would no longer, except by accident, fall upon the notes proper to them in the plainsong; the method, therefore, can scarcely have been permissible, since the relation of words and notes in the plainsong would seem to have been always strictly respected by the composers of mensural music. It would appear then as probable that the words in a root containing much text were abandoned, and the tenor merely vocalized, as in those cases in which the subject was derived from a single syllable of the *cantus*.

In a third class of subject, however, with texts that is to

say of two or three syllables only, we may perhaps perceive the possibility of a different treatment. It seems not improbable, for instance, that in such tenors as those in our examples corresponding to the roots *La - - tus*, *Om - - nes*, *Reg - - nat*, both syllables may have been sung in their proper places upon the first and last notes of the passage. This notion is suggested by a method of writing the guiding word which has been adopted in the Florence MS. There, for instance, in the tenors formed upon the roots *Tan - - quam*, *Quo - - ni*, *La - - tus*, the two syllables are written under the first and last *ordines* of the notation, as in the plainsong. In *Bethleem*, however, *Doce*, and *Nostrum*, are given, like the titles in M. de Coussemaker's extracts from the Montpellier MS., at the beginning of the tenor, the syllables not divided.

The tenor of the motett, then, being provided according to the method just described, the discant was next made upon it, and afterwards the *triplum*, or upper part. Respecting the nature of these parts there is little that is new to be said. Their phrases still display the bold metrical rhythms, to which we have become accustomed in other forms of composition, rhythms more striking in character and more obviously suggestive of poetical words than those which were as a rule adopted for the tenor. But in other respects—in the relation of the upper parts to the tenor, for instance—certain peculiarities may be observed, which, considering that the motett was the only form of serious composition of this period destined to survive, are interesting, from their revelation of something approaching a capacity for development in the form itself, and a sense of purely musical arrangement in the composers.

The first of these peculiarities to be noticed, since it is characteristic of the earliest examples, is the close correspondence between the tenor and the upper parts in respect of

phrasing. The phrase or section of the upper parts is made to correspond generally to two figures of the tenor, so that the tenor pauses alternately alone and in company with the discant and *tripulum*; sometimes, however, all the voices pause together after each figure of the tenor, and sometimes only after three or four, according to the length of their respective phrases. And this in the earliest period seems to have been the only existing notion of a method for establishing musical relation—apart from that which exists through the harmonic agreement—between all the parts. In the two upper parts we again find the mutual relation created by occasional imitation and interchange of phrase with which we are already familiar in *organum* and *conductus*, but nothing of this sort exists between the upper voices and the tenor.

A relation of another kind between the tenor and the upper voices is, however, sometimes created through the words of the various parts in the motett, by means of a periodical simultaneous agreement in the vowel-sounds uttered by the voices. An instance of this may be seen in the second of our illustrations here following, the Motett *Qui servare*, where the tenor vocalizes throughout upon the syllable *He*; it will be observed that in the poem which was afterwards written to accompany the discant of the motett, in the long syllable at the end of each section of the composition, the same vowel-sound, *e . . .*, is always clearly to be perceived. This practice, however, is by no means common.

Not all the questions relating to the text of the upper parts are strictly relevant to our subject<sup>1</sup>, yet it may be said that probably we ought not to suppose that the motett sprang at

<sup>1</sup> Much interesting information respecting the words of motetts and of *conducti* will be found in the work by Professor Meyer, *Der Ursprung des Motetts*, already mentioned in the author's prefatory note to the present work.

once into complete existence in the form described in the treatises,—as a composition that is to say in which all the parts have different words. Following the most direct analogy, and remembering the evidence which exists in all the music of the early period that we have seen of a strong love of vocalizing discant, we might even indeed almost suppose that the words in the motett were at first only to be found in the tenor ('for the tenor,' says the author of *Ars Cantus Mensurabilis*, 'is to be considered as a text'), and that the remaining part or parts were sung, like those of *organum* and *conductus*, merely upon some vowel. Later probably, in that case, a text was carefully composed to suit first the suggestive metrical figures of the discant, and afterwards those of the *triplum*. Later still the whole method of providing upper parts was enlarged, and the composers of motetts, in their advance to welcome every exercise of musical ingenuity, often renounced the composition of original discant, as if it were child's play, and engaged themselves in the far more difficult task of adapting the notes of already existing songs as discant to the figures of the tenor; and with the notes of these songs they took the words also.

The oldest examples of the motett which we possess are apparently those contained in the Florence MS. They are of great interest for two reasons. In the first place they would seem to illustrate a period in the history of this form in which the fully composed motett has received words in the discant voice, while the *triplum* still vocalizes; and thus they may be supposed to lend support to the hypothesis just suggested above. In the second place they afford a striking example of the ambiguous system of notation. We have already pointed out that the Rota 'Sumer is icumen in' was probably first written almost entirely in signs of one kind, and consequently without special value, and that a mode of rhythm

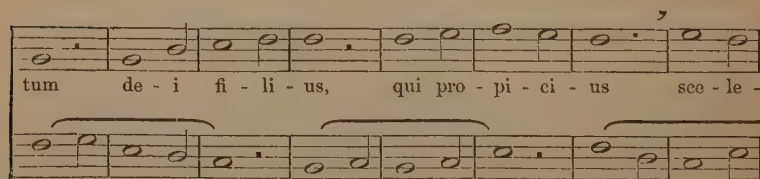
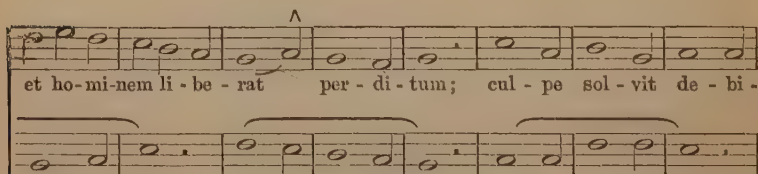
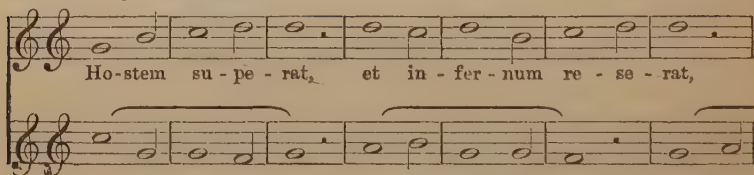


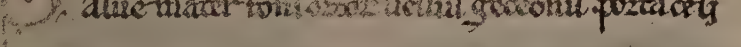
supplied the key to the 'longitude and brevity' of the notes to be sung. The same system is to be seen in these motetts, which are written entirely in longs, except where two sounds are to be given upon one syllable, when the notes are shown in ligature. At first the reader is somewhat bewildered, but assuming that in the upper parts the first mode of rhythm is generally intended as the basis of construction, the compositions may be translated with little difficulty.

## MOTETUS.

## HOSTEM SUPERAT.

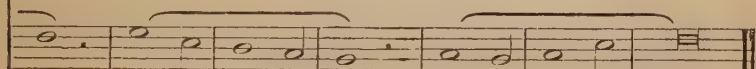
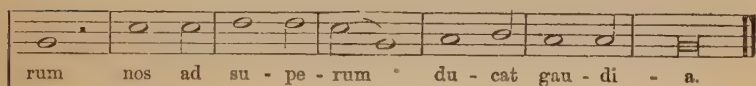
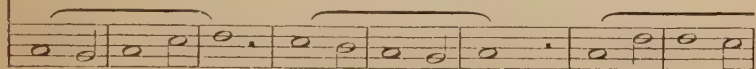
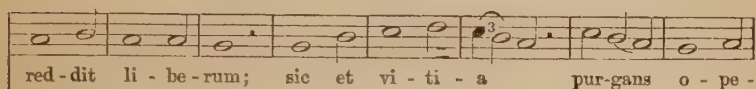
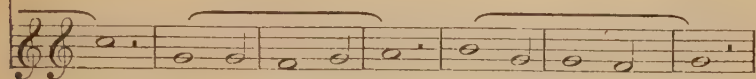
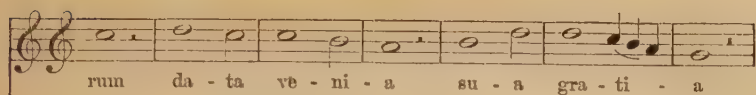
Bibl. Mediceo-Laurenziana,  
MS. Plut. 29. 1, fol. cccci<sup>b</sup>.





From a MS. in the Laurentian Library, Florence

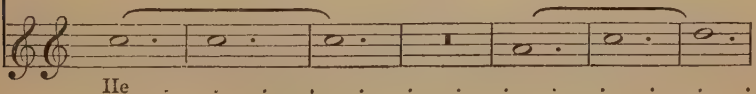
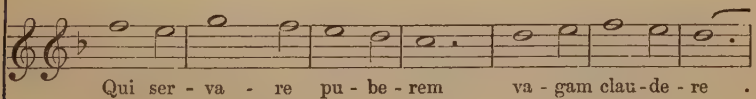
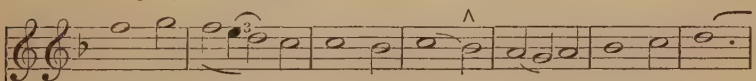




# MOTETUS.

## QUI SERVARE PUBEREM.

Bibl. Mediceo-Laurenziana,  
MS. Plut. 29. I, fol. cclclxxxi<sup>b</sup>.



stu-det la-vat la-te-rem; lit-tus co-le-

re . . tunc la-bo-rat cum ex-plo-rat vi-as vi-pe-

re . . ; no-vit e-nim car-ce-rem vin-cla

sol-ve-re . . , fe-dus et ca-rac-te-rem fir-ma-tum



fran - ge - re . . . , na - ta sem - per fal - le - re,  
no - vo gau - det ve - te - rem a - ni - cum pel - le - re.

MOTETUS.

IN BETHLEEM.

Bibl. Mediceo-Laurenziana,  
MS. Plut. 29. 1, fol. cccclxxxii.

In . . . Beth - - - le - em, He - ro -  
(In Bethlehem.)  
des i - ra - tus, qui - a pu - er na - - tus, ti - mens

prin - ci - pa - tus, scep-tro se pri - va - ri,  
 iu - bet de - col - la - ri pu - e - ros bi - ma - tus;  
 O, mi - ra no - vi - tas fa - ci - no - ris, O . . O . .  
 O . . O li - vo - - ris im - ma - ni - tas, O pu - ri - tas

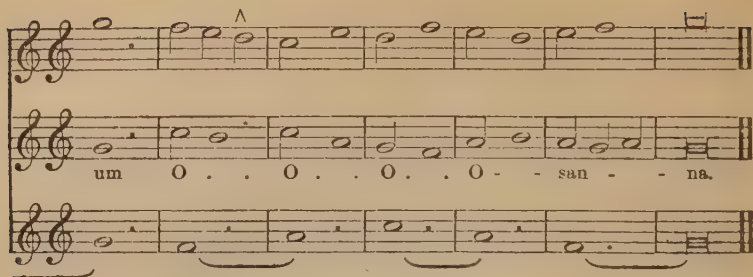
\* Thus in the MS. Passages of this kind frequently occur. It will be observed that in the great majority of cases the *discantus* is consonant, and that the dissonance is in the *triplum*.

in - no - cen - ti - um pe - de gemino sequenti - um

a - gni ve - sti - gi - um; O, ro - sa . . . ru - bens, O, can -

do - ris li - li - um, flos o - do - ris, vox in - fan - ti -

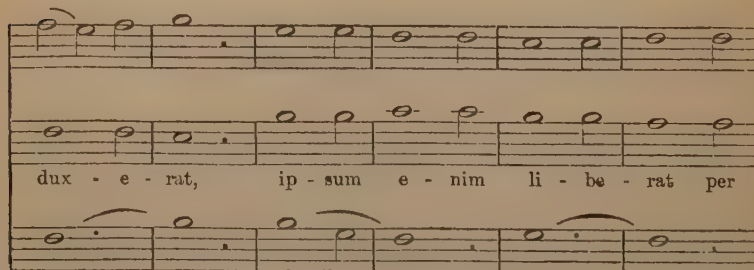
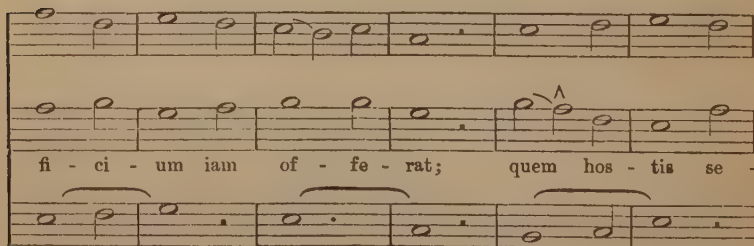
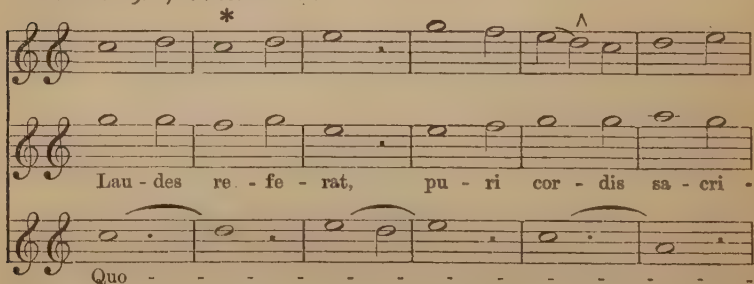
um, lau - des de - o di - cen - ti - um, can - tan - ti -



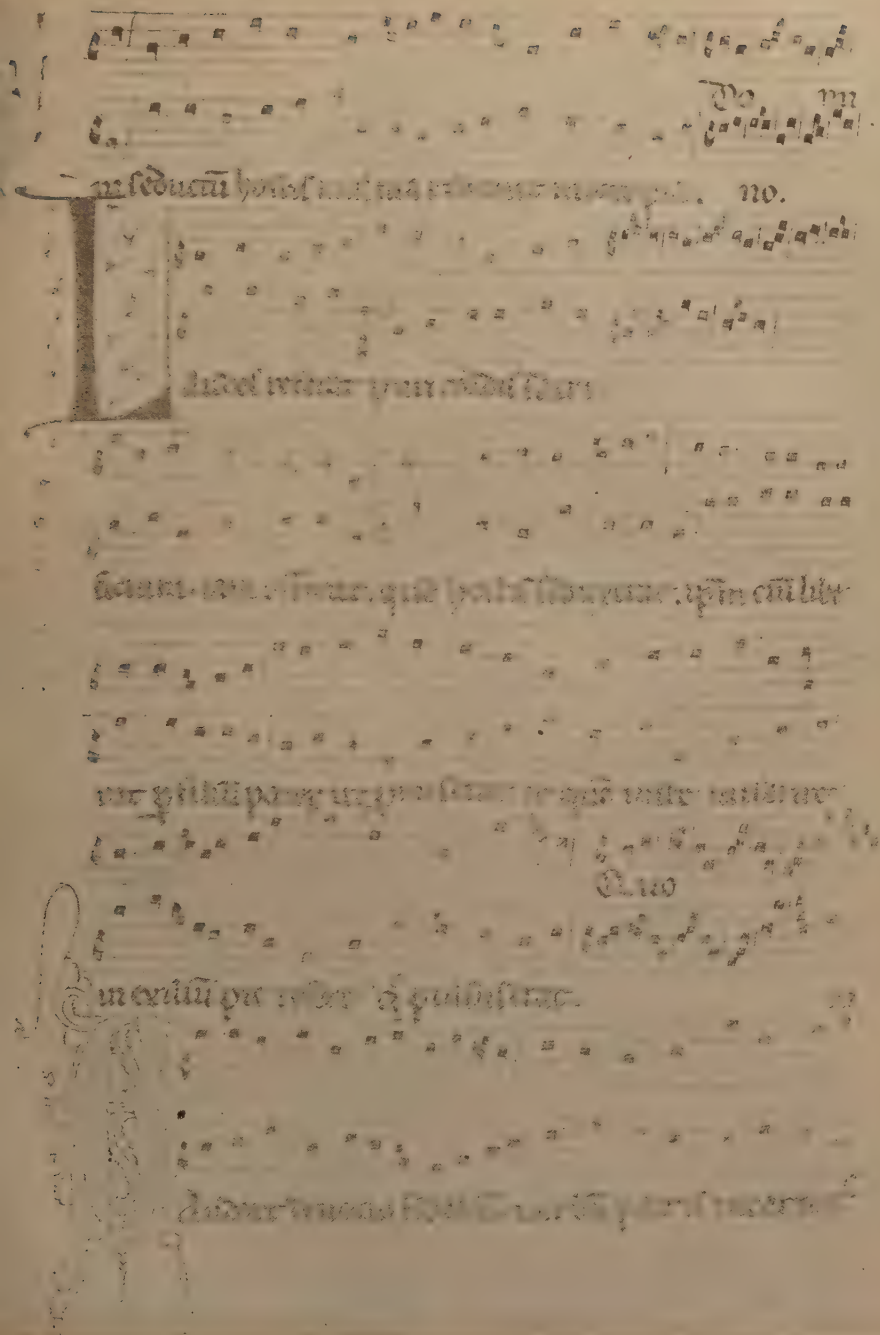
## MOTETUS.

## LAUDES REFERAT.

Bibl. Mediceo-Laurenziana;

MS. Plut. 29. 1, fol. cccxxxiii<sup>b</sup>.

\* Thus in the MS.



‘Laudes referat’

From a MS. in the Laurentian Library, Florence





fi - li - um, pa - ter ut pro - mi - se - rat,

et quem ius - te mi - se - rat in ex - i - li -

um pi - e re - fert quo pul - sus e - - rat.

ni

These motetts belong apparently to the early historical period which saw the transition from equivocal to measured notation, a period which may perhaps be said to have been closed by the treatise *Discantus Positio Vulgaris*, and in passing from them we note, as their chiefly remarkable characteristics, the strictness with which the system of *ordines* is maintained in the tenor, and the freedom and apparent spontaneity of the melodies composed upon the rigid formulae of the ecclesiastical theme. In the examples belonging presumably to the later period which begins with *Discantus Positio Vulgaris* and is closed by the works of the Franconian period,

we may already from the beginning perceive certain changes in these respects, changes at first seen only as indicating a tendency towards revision of the method, but afterwards even affecting the actual structure of the composition. Structural change was not to be observed, so far as we were able to see, in any shape in the more hieratic kinds of music, in *organum purum* that is to say and in *conductus*, and its appearance in the motett may be taken probably to denote an especially strong and progressive vitality in this form of composition.

The first change to be observed relates to the old method of establishing relation between the tenor and the upper parts, by means, that is to say, of the coincidence of pauses, and consists in the liberation of the upper part from the common obligation ; the *discantus* now therefore still pauses with the tenor, while the *triplum* wanders at will. This method is seen in our example *Gaude chorus omnium* here following, in which also is to be observed a very early instance of a French *triplum* probably adapted from a current song.

The next innovation consists in the liberation of the *discantus* and the consequent abolition of all coincidence of pauses, except such as may occur by accident. Yet the notion of a formal relation between the tenor and the upper parts was not yet given up ; it now appears in the form of a coincidence between certain phrases in the upper parts and certain figures in the tenor. The tenor, it will be remembered, consists of an ' original ' set out in modal figures and repeated as often as may be necessary. Any figure of the tenor may be selected as the subject of this kind of coincidence, which is then created by the singer of the *discantus*, who, at each repetition of the tenor original, accompanies the selected figure by the phrase of discant which was first composed for it, the remaining figures receiving fresh discant. The coincidence, like the repetition of the tenor original, may take place either directly or indirectly ; in the latter case the original phrase of discant appears in its repetitions in a different part of the

scale from that which it occupied at first. This device, in which the *triplum* sometimes participates, is shown in our example *Veni sancte spiritus*, where imitations and interchange of phrase between the two upper parts are also seen.

As we approach the Franconian period important signs of change become manifest. The most significant of these probably is the evident desire for greater freedom in the tenor. The short modal *ordines* begin to disappear, the subject is disposed in long phrases unbroken by rests, and is sometimes introduced and followed by notes not in the original, while during the Franconian period itself the root of plainsong was often abandoned, and a passage, with its words complete, from some French song, served as the groundwork of the motett.

In our illustrations of this period, the example *Alle psallite cum luya* probably marks—if it be really a motett—the highest point attained at this time in purely formal writing in this kind of music. The principle of interchange which we have already often seen in casual operation in the older forms is here treated systematically, and now supplies the single motive for the complete composition ; the general treatment also of the work, which begins in a simple manner and becomes more and more rich as it proceeds, displays an idea of musical effect apparently unknown to the older composers. The tenor, it will be observed, is freely treated ; each of its three phrases being of different length, and each once repeated in order to receive the inverted discant of the upper parts.

Our illustration *A Paris* affords an example of the employment of a long passage, with words, from a French song, in place of the figured tenor, and in *Li douz penser* we see the whole of a song, with its words, brought into the lower parts. This destroys the principle of the tenor and creates a complete similarity between all three parts of the motett—except that probably in the lower part the subject is given intact, while in the upper parts the original melodies have no doubt suffered considerable alteration.

The result of the method of adaptation of existing work, in preference to that of original composition, is seen in the bald and uninteresting character of the upper parts in the later motetts as compared with those in the work of older times. In the work of the earlier period we were at least able, in the absence of harmonic beauty, to find satisfaction in the simple and pleasing melody of the individual parts; in the new method however, which excludes original composition and substitutes for it a process of constant expansion or compression of a given subject, the greater part of such beauty and character as the original song may have possessed is lost. It is difficult indeed, in examining the motetts of this latest period, to say in which of their characteristic features their musical merit can have been thought to consist, for the melodies are less agreeable and the harmony is no better than before; and we are in fact only deterred from regarding such motetts as *A Paris* and *Li douz penser* as decadent by our conviction, again and again confirmed, that in a period of healthy and growing art, such as this with which we are at present engaged, no movement is retrograde and no effort sterile, but that all forms and phases of production, having their reason in the natural constitution of the art which they illustrate, are both necessary and beneficial.

## MOTETUS.

## GAUDE CHORUS OMNIUM.

Lib. of Medical Faculty, Montpellier;  
MS. H. 196, fol. 71<sup>b</sup>.

Quoted in *Discantus Positio Vulgaris*.  
See *Cousse. Script. i. 96*.

Po - vre se - cors ai en - core re - co - vré à ma - dame qui je

Gau - de cho - rus om - ni - um fi - de - li - -

Angelus.



avoie ser-vi à sa vo-len-té. N'au-tre rei-son tro-vée

- um; Ro-sa fla-grans, li-li-um con-

n'a de moi gre-ver, fors que veut estre amie a tel qui li puist do-ner.

val-li-um, fert et of-fert fi-li-um.

Las! si m'a refu-sé mes sen li est poin de pi-té. Tot mon dé-sir

Ap-pre-sen-tat pro-pri-um tan-tum of-fer-

eusse achievé En sos-pi-rant li dis que je morroie por li a-

to-ri-um Vir-go ma-ter ho-di-e;

mer, elle res-pon - di que ne le - roit

No - vum re - gem glo - ri - e . De - por -

le riche aler por plus vailant ne por plus se - né. Lors commençai a pen-ser,

tans in gre - mi - - um, quem Sy - me - on ma - ni -

mes ne le dis pas por li ai - rer, dame se j'e - toi - e li maus d'a -

bus in ul - nis fe - li - ci - bus ac - ci - pi -

mer je vos oc - ci - roi - e . voir. Car da-me qui riens veut va -

ens be - ne - di - xit, in - qui - ens, Nunc di - -

- loir, dire de-vroit, et Diex a jor de mon a - e

mit - tis Do - mi - ne ser - vum tu - um

ja mau - vais m'a - mour n'au - ra . . ja ju . . bet.

in pa - ce, nunc et in per - pe - tu - - um.

# MOTETUS.

## VENI SANCTE SPIRITUS.

Lib. of Medical Faculty, Montpellier;  
MS. H. 196, fol. 92.

Ve - ni Vir - go be - a - tis - si - ma, Ve - ni

Ve - ni sanc - te Spi - ri - tus, Ve - ni lux gra - ti - ae,

Neuma

3245.1

Ff

Ma-ter ho-nes-tis-si-ma, Es-to no-bis

Ve-ni re-ple ce-li-tus tu-ae fa-mi-li-  
sem-per pro-xi-ma, De-i ge-ne-trix pi-a O

ae Pec-to-ra ra-di-ci-tus, pa-ter po-ten-ti-  
Ma-ri-a. Nos cla-ri-fi-ca,

ae, Et ex-tir-pa-pe-ni-tus la-bem ne-qui-ti-  
Nos pu-ri-fi-ca, o-ra fi-li-um tu-um pro

no - bis Do - mi - na, Ut eun - cta fi - de - li -  
 re Ut te De - um co - le - re et te pa -  
 um te - rat pec - ca - mi - na, con - fe - rens su - per - na  
 trem di - li - ge - re pos - si - mus sem - per sin - ce - re,  
 gau - di - a per te, cae - li Re - gi - a.  
 et su - per - na gau - di - a pos - si - de - re.

MOTETUS.

ALLE PSALLITE.

Lib. of Medical Faculty, Montpellier;  
 MS. H. 196, fol. 392.

Al - le psal - li - te cum lu - y - a  
 Al  
 Alleluya.



Al - le

le psal - li - te cum lu - y - a

con - cre - pan - do psal - li - te cum lu - y - a

cor - de vo - to De - o to - to psal - li - te cum lu - y - a

Al - le cor - de vo - to De - o to - to psal - li - te cum

Al - le - lu - y - a.

lu - y - a. Al - le - lu - y - a.

MOTETUS.

A PARIS.

Lib. of Medical Faculty, Montpellier;

MS. H. 196, fol. 368.

On pa - ro - le de batre et de van - ner, Et de foir et

A Pa - ris soir et ma - -

Frè - - se nou - vel - - e

de han - ner, Mais ces deduits Trop me dé - plai - -

tin treuv-on bon pain et bon cler . . . vin, Bo - -

Muere Fran - ce muere muere Fran - - ce. Frè - -

sent, Car il n'est si bo - ne vie, Que d'estre à ais - e  
ne char et bon pois - son, De tou -  
se nou - vel - - e Muere Fran -

De bon cler vin et cha-pons, Et d'estre a - veuc bons com -  
tes guises compai - gnons sens sou - ci - e; grant  
ce muere muere Fran - - ce. Frè - se nou -

pai-gnons li - és et joi - aus, chan-tans truf-fans et a-mo - rous.  
bau - dour, Biaux joi - aus da - mes d'ou - nor,  
vel - e Muere Fran - ce muere muere Fran -

Et d'a - voir quant con a mes-tier pour so - la -  
Et si treuv - on bien en - - tre deus  
ce. Frè - se nou - vel - - e

cier, be - les dames à de - vis; et tout ce treuv-on à Pa - ris.

De men - re feur por homes dé - si - teus.

Muere Fran - ce muere muere Fran - - - cc.

## MOTETUS.

## LI DOUZ PENSER.

Lib. of Medical Faculty, Montpellier;

MS. H. 196, fol. 314.

Qui a-mours veut main - te - nir, Et ser - vir, loiau - ments sans faus -

Li doux pen - ser qui me vient de ce - li

Cis a - cui je sui a - mi - e est

ser, Bien se doit sus toutes riens gar - der De vil - en -

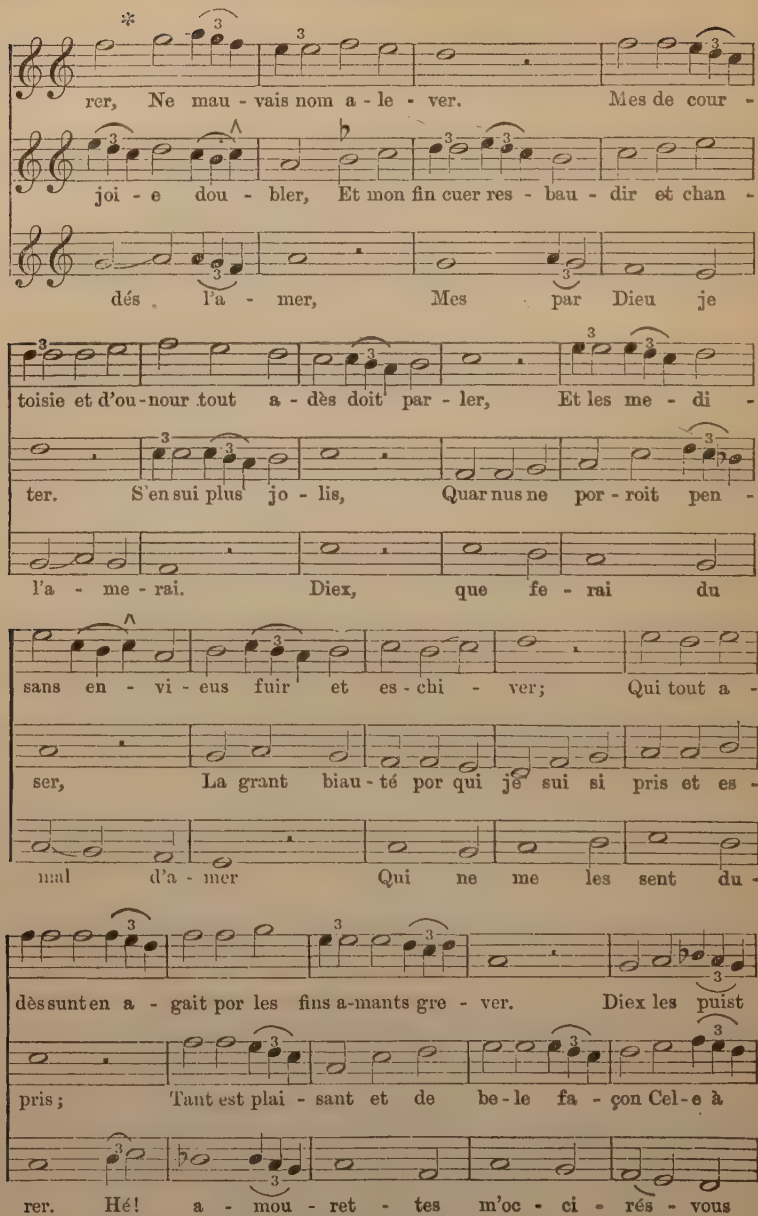
Que jaim de cuer, Quar tous jours l'ai ser - vie sans gui - ler,

coin - te et gai; Por s'a - mours se - rai jo -

i - e Qui tant fait à blas - mer, et si ne doit autrui em - pi -

Et bons es - poirs que j'ai d'avoir mer - ci, Fais ma grant

li - e, Tant con - vi - vrai. Vous le me dé - fen -



rer, Ne mau - vais nom a - le - ver. Mes de cour -  
 joi - e dou - bler, Et mon fin cuer res - bau - dir et chan -  
 dés, l'a - mer, Mes par Dieu je  
 toisie et d'ou-nour tout a - dès doit par - ler, Et les me - di -  
 ter. S'en sui plus jo - lis, Quar nus ne por - roit pen -  
 l'a - me - rai. Diex, que fe - rai du  
 sans en - vi - eus fuir et es - chi - ver; Qui tout a -  
 ser, La grant biau - té por qui jé sui si pris et es -  
 mal d'a - mer Qui ne me les sent du -  
 dèssunten a - gait por les fins a-mants gre - ver. Diex les puist  
 pris; Tant est plai - sant et de be - le fa - çon Cel - e à  
 rer. Hé! a - mou - ret - tes m'oc - ci - rés - vous

\* Thus in the MS.



tous a - gra - ven - ter, Car je ne les porroie a - mer.

cui sui a - mis. Plaine est de bon - té, de

donc? El - le m'a na - vré la

\* Mes qui bo - ne vie, et jo - lie, vo-droit du tout me - ner,

va-lour et de pris, De cour - toi - sie et de tres grant re-

bé - le, El - le m'a na - vré D'un cha-

En bon a - mor meist son pen - ser, Et tout son dé - sir, sans ja -

nom. S'en est mon cuer si sous - pris Que je ne

piau de vi - o - le - tes qu'e - le m'a dou -

mès son cuer os - ter, A donc si por - roit cer - tai - ne - ment prou -

puis plus du - rer Se n'ai pro - chain se - cours. Dou - ce da -

né. Diex, se j'ai le cuer jo - li, Ce

\* Thus in the MS.

ver, Com li maus plaist à en - du - rer.  
me par - a - mours, à mains join - tes vous cri  
me font a - mou - re - - te. Se

Quar quant on pen - se sou - vent a douz vi - ai - re cler,  
mer - ci Que m'al - é - giés ma grant dou - lour; Ou se ce  
voirs, et vous l'a - viés ju - ré s'a - me - rai -

Toute dou-lour es-touet ou - bli - er. et pour dè - por - ter,  
non, il me con - vient mo - rir sans re - tour, Quar pour grie -  
je. Diex ! li douz Diex ! que fe - rai d'a-mour - e - tes,

Fait bon touz-dis sa grant va - lour re - mem - brer, K'on doit bien ser -  
té ne por - tor-ment souf-frir, ne m'en - quier de par - tir a nul  
Quar je ne puis en li mer - ci tro - ver; Or du dis -

vir et houn-nou - rer Celi qui po - oir a de tous

jour. Et se j'ai la vos - tre a - mour,

traindre et du metre en pri - son; Je l'a - me -

maus a - lé-gier et guer - re dou - ner.

Mis m'a - vés en grant bau - dour.

rai qui qu'en poist ne qui non.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE FIRST DEVELOPMENT OF POLYPHONY

‘ARS NOVA’<sup>1</sup>

HAVING in the early part of the present work discussed the origin, the rise, and the first constitution of Polyphony, we may now proceed, in that part of our undertaking which still lies before us, to consider the various phases of its development.

And first it may be said that the actual commencement of this development, which continued unbroken to the end of the sixteenth century, is not clearly to be observed, as we might perhaps have supposed, in that culmination of the early methods of discant, known as the Franconian system, to which we have just referred as the first constitution of Polyphony. That system, in its main features a combination of melodies cast in various strongly marked poetic rhythms, reconciled upon the common ground of an exclusively triple measure, and requiring concord upon the strong beat only, must in fact be perceived, notwithstanding the appearance of great resources and multifarious activity which it derives from the numerous contemporary forms of composition, as of extremely limited capacity. Indeed, if we regard the music of this period not only from the theoretical point of view but also as the subject of performance, the restricted nature of its means and the limitations of its prospect are both clearly apparent ; for the subservience of all other considerations to those of continuity of rhythm, and the consequent complete confinement of interest within the bounds of a peculiarly rigid ternary measure, must necessarily give rise to methods which are not only fatiguing in their monotony, but which would seem also to offer in themselves no suggestion of improvement, since the defects are radical, and arise from the nature of the system.

<sup>1</sup> *Ars nova* was a name often used by the musicians of the fourteenth century to distinguish their methods from those of the Franconian period, which they called *Ars antiqua*, and in this sense it was adopted as the title of their earliest treatise.

The compositions of the thirteenth century therefore may be said to represent rather the close of the old state of things than the beginning of the new, and it will probably appear, from our examination of the methods immediately succeeding, that although much of the older system was incorporated in the new, the actual development of music, as we understand it, which was now inaugurated, had its beginning, not in the Franconian *cantus mensurabilis*, but in the reaction against it.

This reaction was first displayed in a return to the duple measure, which was now again brought forward to stand beside the triple as a means of at least equal importance for the art of music.

The earliest mention of the renewed existence of the duple measure is probably that which occurs in the treatise of Walter Odington—written about the year 1280—as part of an account of various erroneous methods adopted in his time for the notation of the modes of rhythm. After reference to several special peculiarities of treatment in the third and fourth modes (the dactylic and the anapaestic), he continues: ‘There are other musicians whose figuration of the longs, breves, and pauses in these modes is indeed the same as my own, but (in their valuation) they divide the long into two breves only, as if it contained two times,’—the *tempus* it will be remembered was *brevis recta*—‘and the breve into two semibreves, seldom three; also their long pause occupies but two spaces, and the breve one <sup>1</sup>.’

Odington makes no comment, but the passage itself is already most suggestive, for it is certainly a curious circumstance that this information should be given by the very author who also in another part of the same work, and in treating of the same modes, refers as a matter of historical interest to the original alteration

<sup>1</sup> ‘Alii autem, in his modis, utuntur longis et brevibus et semibrevis et pausis secundum quod ego accipio, sed tantum dividunt longam in duas breves, ut duo tempora habentem, et brevem in duas semibreves, et raro in tres. Et pro longa duo spatia occupat pausa, pro brevi unum.’ *Cousse. Script.* i. 245.



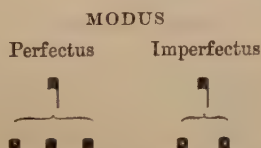
of the old duple long to triple value, as a necessity of the ternary system, which first revealed itself in those modes <sup>1</sup>. May we not therefore, we are encouraged to ask, infer from Odington's statement, just given, that the constant distortion of the dactyl and anapaest in triple measure—always noticeable from the fact that apart from the *cantus mensurabilis* these metres must of course have maintained their propriety—had at length become so intolerably wearisome to musicians, that in the rendering of passages confined to the third and fourth modes the temptation to return to the true values proved sometimes irresistible; and that thus the system which first came through these modes now received, also through them, the first and most deadly of the blows which were to end it?

Be this, however, as it may, it is clear from Odington's statement that the binary system, considered as a means of composition for concerted voices, was already in his time again in existence, and there is abundant evidence to prove that at the opening of the fourteenth century it was firmly established both in France and Italy, and that its regulation, so far as was at first necessary, was complete. Its recognition involved certain changes of more or less importance, of which perhaps the most striking was the entire renunciation of the former governing principle implied in the invention of the six modes of rhythm. This apparently was inevitable, since the recovery of the old binary values of the third and fourth modes, so clearly suggested by Odington, must have been at once destructive of the artificial scheme, so far as those modes were concerned, and it is evident that no new system of the same kind, upon the foundation of one simple measure embracing the whole of music in its uniformity, was any longer possible. The rhythm of one sort, therefore, which had hitherto governed the composition, confining the polyphonic melody within the strictest limits, now gave way to the bipartite

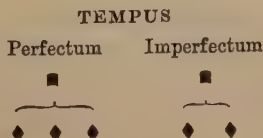
<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. 60.

structure of musical Time, with all its complicated possibilities, and a new system arose, in which the ternary elements of the old invention were represented in a Perfect scheme, while an Imperfect scheme displayed the newly recovered binary measure.

These schemes derived their designations from the two kinds of *longae* upon which they were formed, the fundamental value of the ternary scheme being the old *longa perfecta* and that of the binary scheme the old *longa imperfecta*; and since the ternary scheme now contained all that was left of the old modal structure, its theoretical division of the long—a division into three equal breves only, actually the old sixth mode—was perceived as representative of the old system, and was therefore called *Modus Perfectus*; the duple division of the binary scheme being of necessity raised to the same rank and called *Modus Imperfectus*. In future, therefore, in place of the old system of six modes, similar in character because in all cases reducible to the value of a perfect long, we shall perceive a new system of two modes only, differing from each other in character, and not reducible to a common value.



The division of the breve into semibreves was called *Tempus*, and this, it will be remembered, was also the name often given in the old system to the breve itself. In the *Tempus*, as in the *Modus*, the division was necessarily twofold, consisting of *Tempus Perfectum*, in which each breve was valued as three semibreves, and *Tempus Imperfectum*, in which the value was duple.



The division of the semibreve into the next possible smaller value—the Minim—was called *Prolatio*, the *enlargement* of the system. This again was both Perfect and Imperfect, the Perfect being of course a division into three minims, and the Imperfect a division into two.



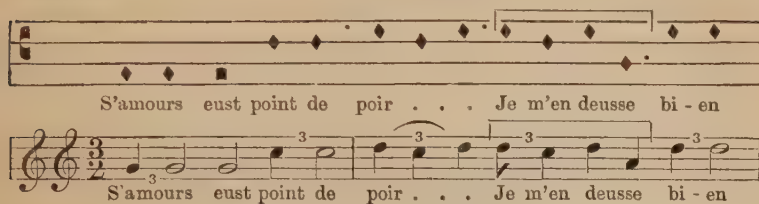
Though unrecognized officially by the older theorists, this important feature of the new system had been already now in use, as a practical necessity, for some time; and by one at least of the earlier musicians—Pierre de la Croix, a composer of the Franconian period—it had been systematically adopted as part of his technical method : Odington also in his treatise had made an attempt towards its regulation, and before the close of the century it had probably become common. At first, the minim was without either distinctive name or figure ; it was treated as a lesser kind of semibreve, and was written like the semibreve as a plain lozenge<sup>1</sup>. When, however, attempts were made to regulate it, a distinctive name and figure became necessary ; the note loosely called *semibrevis* then appeared as the *Minima*, and the lozenge received the addition of a downward stroke.

In presenting examples of its use, it has been considered that the earlier specimens will naturally be thought to be the more interesting, and since the works of Pierre de la Croix belong in point of time to the former period, and moreover may also be said to throw considerable light upon the origin and nature of the necessity for a smaller value than any hitherto recognized, a few semibreve passages from the Motetts of this author, each intended to be sung in the time of one *brevis recta*, may be given

<sup>1</sup> 'Rursumque invenitur brevis divisa in sex vel septem partes, quas adhuc semibreves vocant minus iuste.' Odington, *Cousse. Script.* i. 236.

from the fourteenth-century treatise of Jean de Muris, *Speculum Musicae*<sup>1</sup>.

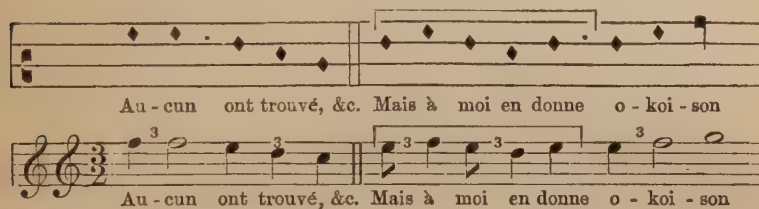
i. Four Semibreves.



S'amours eust point de poir . . . Je m'en deusse bi-en

S'amours eust point de poir . . . Je m'en deusse bi-en

ii. Five Semibreves.

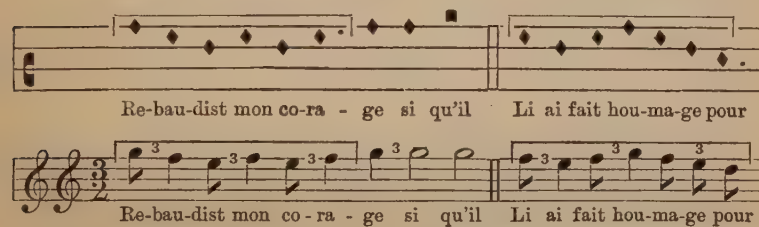


Au-cun ont trouvé, &c. Mais à moi en donne o-koï-son

Au-cun ont trouvé, &c. Mais à moi en donne o-koï-son

iii. Six Semibreves.

iv. Seven Semibreves.



Re-bau-dist mon co-ra - ge si qu'il Li ai fait hou-ma-ge pour

Re-bau-dist mon co-ra - ge si qu'il Li ai fait hou-ma-ge pour

In considering passages such as these just given, it will of course be seen that they constitute an actual extension of the

<sup>1</sup> De Muris even ascribes the first use of this device to Pierre de la Croix.—'Nam ille valens cantor, Petrus de Cruce, qui tot pulchros et bonos cantus composuit mensurabiles et artem Franconis secutus est, quandoque plures tribus pro perfecta brevi semibreves posuit; ipse primo incepit ponere quatuor semibreves pro perfecto tempore in triplo illo:—*S'amours eust, &c.* . . . Postea idem ampliavit se et posuit pro uno perfecto tempore nunc quinque semibreves, nunc sex, nunc septem, in triplo illo:—*Aucun ont trouvé, &c. Cousse. Script.* ii. 401. De Muris also gives passages from the same author containing eight and even nine semibreves to the breve, beyond which limit, of course, the multiplication could not proceed otherwise than by a supposition of values still smaller than the minim, not perceived as possible in the thirteenth century.

method of composition ; and with respect to the necessity which gave occasion for their existence, the necessity for values smaller than the semibreve, we may perhaps suppose that it arises from the musician's persevering endeavour to accomplish a certain technical purpose for which the existing methods have proved unsuitable or insufficient ; and certainly all or almost all of the permanent enlargements of the scope of artistic practice have appeared as the result of difficulties, carrying the artist beyond the limits and powers of the current method, difficulties which he welcomes, or even himself creates, for his own delight in overcoming them. The application of this supposition to the matter in hand will be made more evident if we consider the probable circumstances in which these passages were produced. The Motetts from the upper parts of which they are taken belong to that large class, already described in the present work <sup>1</sup>, in which, apparently, original composition was not attempted, but different existing songs were forced into agreement, both with each other and with the tenor, or subject, which had first been chosen and arranged as a foundation for the artificial structure. The special characteristics, therefore, of the passages given above—their apparent superfluity, and also the highly significant fact that every semibreve contained in them carries a separate syllable of text—would seem to point to the conclusion that the songs from which they were taken must have been of unmanageable length as compared with those with which they were to be combined, and that the passages here shown represent, so to speak, a kind of discharge or overflow of accumulating syllables which threatened from time to time to obstruct the movement, or to render impossible a simultaneous termination of all the parts.

It may of course be said that a different explanation of these passages is possible, and that they may very well be accounted for by the love of embroidery and flourishing of which certain traces are to be observed in the music of the thirteenth century,

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, p. 191.



and especially in the old *organum purum* ; but we have hitherto met with no instance of the application of words to any musical embroidery or florification, and the existence therefore of a syllable of text for each note—even the smallest—in our examples, seems conclusively in favour of our own conjecture.

The introduction of initial signs indicative of the prevailing measure of a composition belongs to this period. Such indications were of course unnecessary in the older scheme of uniform triple measure governed by the ‘perfection’ or beat of three times, and in the new system, even, they were at first not in use ; the singer was instructed to recognize the mode of the composition from the number of spaces occupied by the long pause, or if this method failed him he was advised to have recourse to experiment, and to choose the mode in which the notes arranged themselves most easily <sup>1</sup>. Signs were, however, eventually perceived as desirable for the definition of Mode, Time, and Prolation, and with their adoption the elements of the new mensural system may be said to have become complete. The signs were at first as follows :—

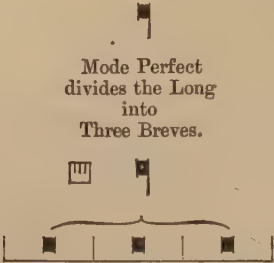
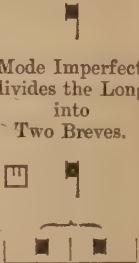



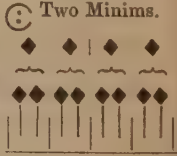
Mode Perfect $\blacksquare$ .	Time Imperfect $\circ$ .
Mode Imperfect $\square$ .	Prolation Perfect $\odot$ , afterwards $\odot$ .
Time Perfect $\bigcirc$ .	Prolation Imperfect $\odot$ , afterwards $\phi$ .

If to the prolations here shown we add those of Time Perfect with Prolation Imperfect,  $\odot$  or  $\phi$ , and Time Imperfect with Prolation Perfect,  $\odot$  or  $\circ$ , we complete the famous ‘four prolations’, popularly ascribed, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, to Philippe de Vitry <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> ‘Modus perfectus cognoscitur per pausas, quando pause inter longas sunt perfecte, vel quando de longa usque ad aliam longam per numerum ternarium melius quam per binarium tempora computantur.’ *Ars Perfecta in Musica*. Cousse. *Script.* iii. 29.

<sup>2</sup> It should here be mentioned that the further prolation beyond six minims (the Perfect of the Imperfect time) is to be effected, according to *Ars Nova*, by means of semiminims. The same instruction was probably given with respect to nine minims (the Perfect of the Perfect time), but this part of the treatise is apparently incomplete, for although it professes to

SYSTEM OF THE NOTE VALUES OF 'ARS NOVA'  
WITH THEIR SIGNS.

<p>Mode Perfect divides the Long into Three Breves.</p> 	<p>MODE or Division of the Long into Breves.</p>	<p>Mode Imperfect divides the Long into Two Breves.</p> 
<p>Time Perfect divides the Breve into Three Semibreves.</p> 	<p>TIME or Division of the Breve into Semi- breves.</p>	<p>Time Imperfect divides the Breve into Two Semibreves.</p> 
<p>Prolation Perfect divides the Semibreve into Three Minims.</p> 	<p>PROLA- TION or Division of the Semibreve into Minims.</p>	<p>Prolation Imperfect divides the Semibreve into Two Minims.</p> 

The system here described represents the growth of the new methods in France during the last quarter of the thirteenth century, the period which also saw the steady decline of the old practice and the gradual extinction of some of the most important early forms of composition. Only two of these indeed, as we have already seen, survived. One was the Motett, always

contain rules for the prolation of the semibreve 'quolibet tempore perfecto sive imperfecto,' those for Imperfect time alone are given. It should not be supposed that the semiminim formed at this time an actual part of the musical scheme; it was mentioned only casually, and in France was seldom used.

extra-liturgical and sometimes frankly secular, continued by the professors of 'Ars Nova' as a vehicle for their comparatively extended and sustained efforts; the other was the Cantilena, by which name was understood a class rather than a special form, a class containing Rondels, Ballads, Chansons, and other things of the same kind which served for the exhibition of a lighter skill. But beside these forms, adopted from the older practice, another, a new species, of the greatest importance in the history of music, was now introduced. This new form was developed in the complete ornate settings of the *Gloria*, *Credo*, *Sanctus*, and other portions of the ordinary of the Mass, which were now for the first time composed. Hitherto the subjects employed in the only strictly liturgical form of polyphonic composition then existing, the form known as *Organum Purum*, had been taken—both words and music—almost entirely from the Antiphonal and Gradual, while the ordinary of the Mass on the other hand, with the exception of a few detached words such as *Descendit de caelis* or *Benedicamus Domino*, for example, would appear to have been entirely untouched by musicians before the close of the thirteenth century.

An interesting, though by no means exhaustive, account of the musical treatment of the various portions of the Mass at this period is to be found in a MS. in the *Hofbibliothek* at Darmstadt<sup>1</sup>—apparently a late fourteenth-century copy of an earlier treatise written by one Johannes de Grocheo, of whom nothing else is at present known. The portions of the Mass specifically mentioned by this author as receiving choral treatment are the *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Offertorium*, *Praefatio*, and *Communio*; perhaps he intends also to include the *Credo*, *Sanctus*, *Agnus Dei*, and the *Responsorium* with *Alleluia* and *Sequentia*, but while he says distinctly respecting the former texts that they were composed

<sup>1</sup> Printed, with a German translation by J. Wolf, in the first number of the Quarterly Journal of the *Internationale Musikgesellschaft*, 1899.

'with harmonies' (*concordantiis*), this statement is omitted in referring to the latter. For instance, of the *Kyrie* the author says, —' *Kyrie eleyson* is a cantus composed with many harmonies, ascending and descending, in the method of the simple *cantilena*, and is sung in a sustained manner with many long notes.' Of the *Gloria*, —' A cantus composed with many harmonies, ascending and descending, and divided into versicular sections such as *Qui tollis, Qui sedes, &c.*' Of the *Offertorium*, —' A cantus composed with many harmonies, like the *Conductus simplex*, ascending and descending regularly, and beginning, continuing, and ending, according to the rules of the eight modes.' Of the *Introitus*, on the other hand, he says simply '*intonatur*,' and with respect to the *Credo* and the remaining portions his information refers only to their modal character. Yet since choral music for the *Credo*, *Sanctus*, and *Agnus* occurs in the earliest polyphonic Masses known to us, we may suppose that the author did not intend to suggest its absence in those portions of the service of the altar.

Choral compositions of these portions are found, for instance, in M. de Coussemaker's publication of a MS. found at Tournai, which contains the earliest known setting of the Mass; a MS. dating from about the year 1300, and therefore exhibiting also very early specimens of composition in the new manner. Two short extracts are here given, in which already will be observed not only the free use of the minim, but also some of the changes in the method of writing the notes which have been described above as characteristic of *Ars Nova* <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The MS. from which our illustrations are taken is the *Messe de la confrérie des Notaires de Tournai*, until lately in the library of the vicar-general of the diocese, the Abbé Voisin. Examining the transcript made by M. de Coussemaker we find that it contains settings not only of the *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Credo*, *Sanctus*, *Benedictus*, and *Agnus Dei*, but also of the *Ite missa est*, which is treated as a motett, with the notes of the office in the tenor; in this composition the *discantus* (here called *motetus*) sings *Cum venerint miseri de Gentes, &c.*, while the *triplum* has a French text, *Se grasse nest a mon maintien, &c.*

## I.

## KYRIE ELEISON.

'Messe du xiii<sup>me</sup> siècle.'  
Pub. Tournai, 1861.

Transcribed by  
C. E. H. de Coussemaker.

The musical score consists of three systems, each with three staves. The first system has a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature. The second system has a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature. The third system has a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature. The lyrics 'Kyrie' and 'ley - son.' are written below the staves.

Kyrie . . . . . ley - son.

Kyrie . . . . . ley - son.

Kyrie . . . . . ley - son.

(1)

Kyri - e . . . . .

Kyri - e . . . . .

Kyri - e . . . . .

ley - - son.

ley - - son.

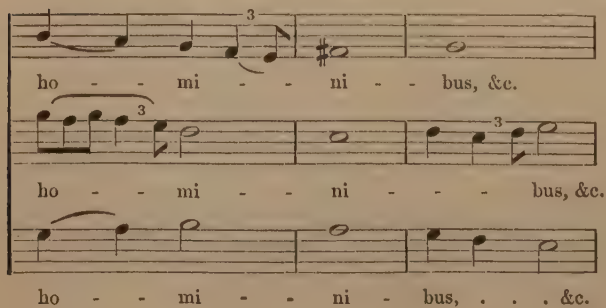
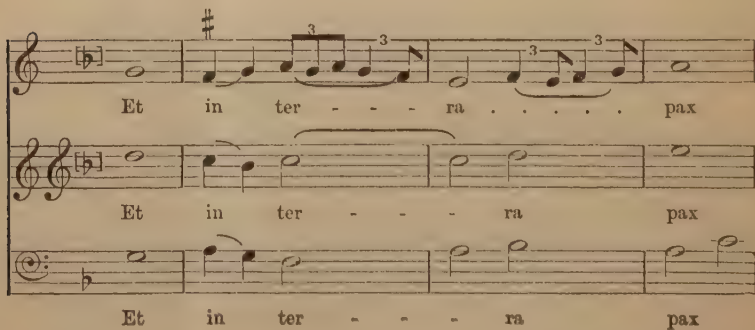
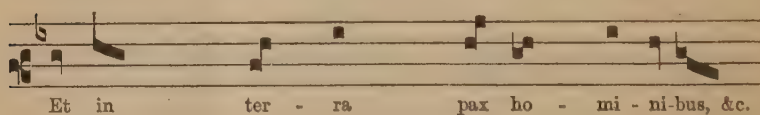
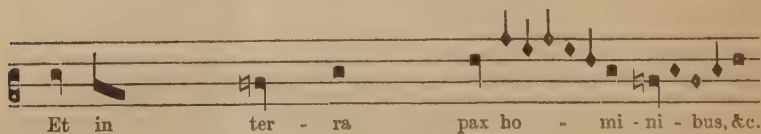
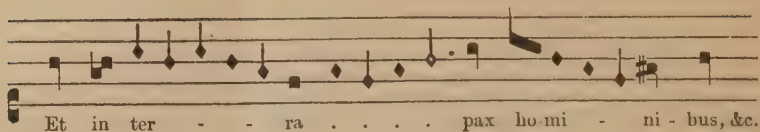
ley - - son.

<sup>1</sup> Thus in MS.



## II.

## ET IN TERRA PAX, ETC.



In this MS.<sup>1</sup> the influence of the older system is still apparent in the choice of measure, only two of the numbers, for instance *Gloria* and *Credo*, being in the new imperfect mode. In the counterpoint<sup>2</sup>, however, a later taste prevails; thirds and sixths, for example, are now much more frequent than in the characteristic works of the thirteenth century; discords also, though not entirely banished from practice, are infrequent, and are used only singly, and in a guarded manner, in passing from concord to concord; indeed, so far was this feature, though constant in the old practice, from receiving any recognition from the writers of the new period, that for many the name itself had lost its old signification, and had been transferred to the imperfect concords, which were now often referred to as *discordantiae*. The melodies of the voice parts also differ widely from those proper to *Ars Antiqua*. Not only the discouragement of discord, but the prohibition of consecutive perfect concords of one kind, which was now theoretically enforced, rendered the impetuous metrical flow of the individual voices—so remarkable in the thirteenth-century music—for the present at least impossible. This therefore necessarily gives place to melody of a tentative character, in which also is perceptible the desire to create contrapuntal formulae, based upon the principal habits of progression, and character-

<sup>1</sup> Were access to the original MS. at present possible, longer extracts than those now printed would gladly have been offered here. But unfortunately its present possessor is unknown, and the transcription by M. de Coussemaker, though from its considerable extent it gives a good idea of general principles, cannot be relied upon for detailed examples; even in our short extracts from the transcript two passages have needed emendation.

<sup>2</sup> The word Counterpoint now appears in the principal treatises of the new period as the equivalent of Discant, in that sense, that is to say, in which it defines the intervals which form the materials of composition, and demonstrates the best methods of progression, note against note (*punctus contra punctum*), from one concord to another, in all combinations of perfect and imperfect, and in various circumstances. In order to save space, the details of this system will not now be displayed; they much resemble the best rules of discant, and will moreover of necessity appear in the various examples of composition hereafter to be given,

istic and pleasing as regards both melody and harmony. This tendency, which we formerly already saw in a marked degree in the English music of the previous century, is also to be distinguished in the Mass of Tournai, though perhaps not altogether so clearly in the *Kyrie*.

It is of course probable that all the music of the first years of the fourteenth century was similar in character to the specimens just given, but we cannot unhesitatingly assume this as a fact, for although the belief is supported by a majority of the theoretical works belonging to this period, which indicate, as we have seen, a general progressive direction in the contemporary effort, it is also true that other important treatises of the same period, such as that of De Muris, for example, are reactionary in intention ; moreover, actual specimens of the musical composition of this date, which might decide the matter, are exceedingly rare, the Mass of Tournai being in fact the only known example of any importance of the methods of this time that we possess. Nor can we speak more positively with respect to the compositions which must have been produced during the remaining years of the first quarter of the century, in which the regulation of the newly acquired material, and the gradual development of its advantages, were doubtless exhibited, for of these also nothing is as yet known ; indeed, for the first characteristic specimens of fourteenth-century music, specimens in which the aims and methods of the period are completely revealed, we must turn to the two large collections, preserved at Paris and at Chantilly, of the works of the great representative French poet and musician, Guillaume de Machault, composed probably between the years 1325 and 1370.

Machault, from his long and close association with royal persons—an association extending indeed over the whole of the first half of the century—has been sometimes classed with the knightly *trouvères* ; yet his real place is not among these distinguished

amateurs, for he was at once both less and more than they<sup>1</sup>. Less, socially, since he occupied in the households of Jeanne of Navarre, Johann of Bohemia, and Jean of France, successively, the undistinguished post of secretary ; and more, artistically, from the qualities revealed in his work, which represents, both in poetry and music, the highest points gained in France during the age of serious artistic effort in which he lived. The remarkable improvements which he effected in the technique of French poetry, giving rise, indeed, among his own countrymen to a comparison between himself and his contemporary Petrarch, may be left to be understood and appreciated by students of verse, while our attention must be confined in the present work entirely to his music ; respecting this, however, it may be said that the exact nature of his special advances in that art must remain unrecognized by us until we are better informed respecting the works which immediately preceded his.

In turning to the collections of Machault's music we find, as indeed we should expect, that he there appears as a composer chiefly of *cantilenae*, a class of works including almost all the secular forms then in use ; but he also reveals a strong inclination towards the Motett, and has even composed, elaborately, one setting of the ordinary of the Mass, in four and five parts.

This setting of the Mass—of material, that is to say, which considered as the subject of musical treatment was at this time still relatively new—is naturally of considerable interest, and especially as regards the plan of its construction. This, as we may gather for instance from the four-part *Agnus Dei*—which gives an excellent idea of the methods of the work, and of which one movement has been taken as our illustration—is largely founded upon that of the Motett. In the lowest voice the ecclesiastical melody is displayed, though not strictly, in figures resembling the rhythmic ordines, and without words ; in the voice imme-

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the Troubadors see Introductory volume, p. 205 and Vol. II under *Song*.



diately above are to be found phrases of a similar character, but exhibiting a greater degree of freedom ; while in the two upper parts the movement is entirely free, and now reveals no trace whatever of the dependence upon poetic metre—still visible in some degree in the Mass of Tournai—which was the principal characteristic of the polyphonic melody of the thirteenth century. And this complete freedom was in all probability one of Machault's musical innovations.

His treatment of the Motett, on the other hand, was intensely conservative, and would seem to have been governed by a consideration of the great age of this form, and by the fact that it was the single remaining representative of the old serious kinds of composition.

The special secular forms of composition included in the generic term *cantilena* which are to be found in the collections of Machault's works, are the *Rondeau*, the *Ballade*, and the *Chanson Balladée* ; of these the *Ballade* and the *Chanson Balladée* are new to us. In their general character they are found to resemble the *Rondeau*, but each has of course its own special musical feature. The special indication of the *Ballade* would seem to consist in the fact that the second line of words is sung to the same music as the first, with the exception of the last notes, which form an *ouvert* or half close for the first time, and a *clos* or true close for the second. In the *Chanson Balladée* this feature again appears, but is now applied to the second and third lines of the text. In both the words are given to the upper part only, and in neither is there any musical repetition of importance except that which has just been described. The *Ballade* partakes largely of the ornamental character which is also to be observed in the *Rondeau*, and originally in the *Conductus*, long passages of florid counterpoint upon a single syllable of text occurring at the beginning of the composition and before each close. In the *Chanson Balladée* the music is much more simple ; it is in fact essentially syllabic, and more nearly than any other form employed by Machault approaches the quality of a song



# THE FIRST DEVELOPMENT OF POLYPHONY 245

## AGNUS DEI.

Paris : Bib. Nat., MSS., fonds français.

No. 22546, fol. 132<sup>b</sup>.

Guillaume de Machault.

The musical score is written on four staves, each with a treble clef. The music is in a medieval style, featuring square neumes on a four-line staff. The lyrics are in Latin and are written below the staves. The score is divided into two systems, each with four staves. The first system begins with the word 'Agnus' and continues with 'gnus . . . De'. The second system begins with 'De . . . i, qui . . . . . tol-' and continues with 'De . . . i, qui . . . . . tol-' and 'lis . . . . . pec - ca -' and 'tol . . . . . lis pec -'. The music is polyphonic, with each staff representing a different voice or instrument. The notation includes various note values, rests, and accidentals (sharps and flats). The lyrics are written in a Gothic script.

A - - - - - gnus .

A - - - - - gnus .

A - - - - - gnus . . . . . De -

[Agnus]

De . . . i, qui . . . . .

De . . . i, qui . . . . . tol-

. . . . . i, qui . . . . .

. . . . . tol - - - - - lis . . . . .

. . . . . lis . . . . . pec - ca -

tol . . . . . lis pec -

pec - ca - ta . . . . .  
 . . . . . ta mun . . . . .  
 ca - ta . . . . .  
 . . . . . mun - di, . . . . .  
 di, . . . . . mi - se -  
 mun - di,  
 mi - se - re - re .  
 re - re . . . . .  
 mi se - re - re

no - - bis.

no - - - - - bis.

no - - - - - bis.

no - - - - - bis.

BALLADE.

DE TOUTES FLOURS.

Paris: Bib. Nat., MSS., fonds français.  
No. 22546, fol. 144<sup>a</sup>.

Guillaume de Machault.

De  
Gas

toutes fleurs n'a - - - - -  
- tes e - toit li

- vait et de tous fruits en mon ver - gier, fors une seule ro -  
surplus et destruis par for - tu - ne, qui durement soppo -

1st time.

se . . . .

2nd time.

se . . . . Con - tre ceste douce flour pour

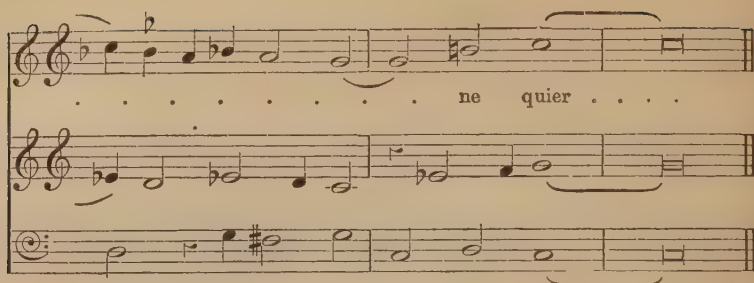
a - ma - tir sa . . . coulour et so - dour, mais se euei -

- llir le voy on tres - bu - chier. Au - tre

a - pres . . li ja - mais a - - -

- voir . . . . .





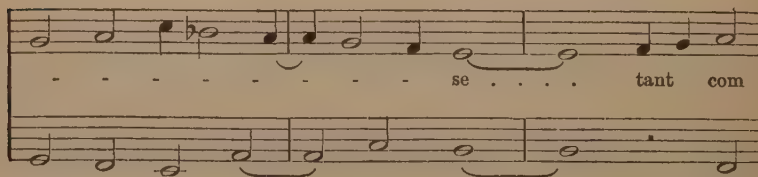
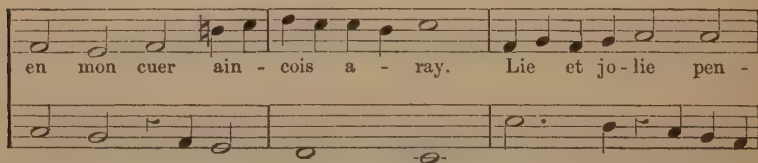
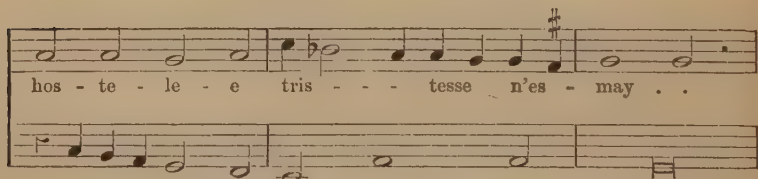
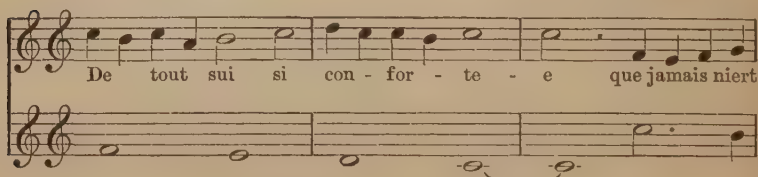
## CHANSON BALLADÉE.

## DE TOUT SUI SI CONFORTÉE.

Paris : Bib. Nat., MSS., fonds français.

No. 22546, fol. 162<sup>a</sup>.

Guillaume de Machault.



je . . . . . vi - vray. { Bien faire et à -  
Dont lie et loy -

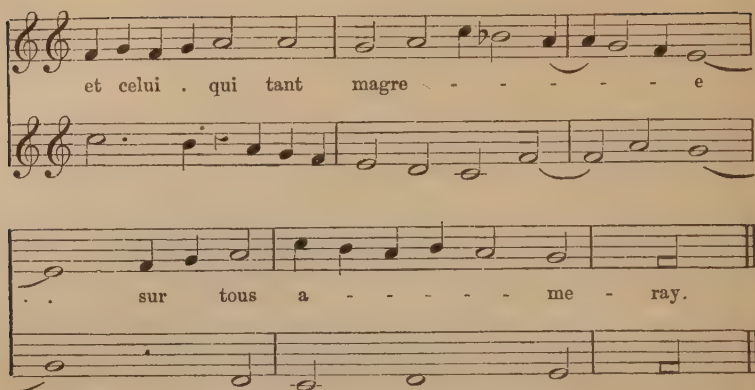
-voir cuer gay cest tout plus nem - por - te - ray . .  
-aulz se - ray et le con - trai - re fe - ray . .

1st time. || 2nd time.  
quant seray fi - - - ne - e. de ma des - - ti -

nee. Car . . las-se des - con - fort - e - -

-e, triste dolen - te es - plou - ré - e, es - te long temps

ay . . mais je me con - for - te - ray,



From these examples we may gain some idea of the conceptions which were aroused in the minds of the French composers of the middle of the fourteenth century as a consequence of the recent enlargement of the materials of music, chiefly through the adoption of the Imperfect time and of the prolation of the semibreve. For it is evident that this enlargement, though it was at first no more than the immediate result of the obvious reaction against the older ideal of composition, must necessarily bring also with it possibilities of its own, and the germs of a new ideal. The immediate technical possibilities, the merely mechanical combinations of various kinds of time, prolation, and syncope, are seen, produced to exhaustion, in the works of the contemporary theorists; the artistic possibilities are aimed at in the works of Machault and his school, where we may perceive the first approaches towards a realization of the new ideal,—the embodiment, that is to say, of the new forms in sustained compositions, and the search for such effects as most properly arise from the nature of the untried material when thus employed.

And certainly it must be confessed that although the abolition of the old systems of poetic rhythm had evidently revealed to these artists the true form of polyphonic melody, as consisting in an imaginative mixture of notes of all values, constantly

varying, yet the artistic results at first obtained in France from the combination of parts constructed out of the new material were but little better than those which had arisen from the older juxtaposition of purely metrical forms, upon which the great system of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century music was founded. In some respects indeed the methods of the older period were artistically superior, for while in the Motett, for instance, the earlier composers had produced a kind of composition in which was contained the advanced conception of a musical whole, depending for its form upon the music itself and arising directly out of it, the musicians of Machault's time failed to advance or to develop this idea ; the development of the Motett indeed was, as we have seen, at this time arrested, while the secular forms of *cantilena*, in which the idea of the musical whole is mainly dependent upon the construction of the text, were much practised and advanced. One feature, however, which had already become an important constituent of purely musical form—the two-part cadence, that is to say, in which one voice descends by a whole tone to the final while the other rises by a semitone to the same note or its octave—may be said to have been definitely settled during this largely secular period of composition ; the absolute value, however, of this formula, as the true musical expression of finality, was somewhat obscured as a consequence of the general treatment, which was still so apparently aimless and incoherent that the close seems to spring from nowhere and to end nothing. It is needless, therefore, to add that the recognition of an harmonic propriety in the construction of a passage, the instinctive justification of a particular sequence of combined sounds, upon which purely musical meaning depends, is not yet at all aroused in the mind of the hearer.

Besides the Paris MS., from which our examples of the French work of this period are taken, another should be mentioned, the MS. marked No. 1047 in the library at Chantilly ; this contains

not only a large number of works by Machault himself, but also many others by a group of composers whose names are given, and who may be said probably to form the school of the master, since they both come after him and exhibit his style. Dr. F. Ludwig<sup>1</sup>, who has carefully examined the MS., has given some of these names, which rarely occur in other collections, and may therefore perhaps be appropriately recorded here. They are—F. Andrieu, Jean Vaillant, Jacob de Seuleches or Selesses, Jean Césaris, Solage, Grimace, P. de Molins, Trébor, Jean Cuvelier, &c. Their works are chiefly *Ballades* and *Chansons Balladées*, in three and four parts, composed in Machault's manner; they reveal tendencies similar to those which may be observed in their model, the chief of which may be said to be towards the exhibition of the technical subtleties which arise from an examination of the new material—towards the combination, for instance, rather of the more recondite and difficult kinds of prolation and syncopation, than of the simpler forms in which beauty resides.

The MS. also contains the names of a few Italian composers—Master Egidius, Philippus de Caserta, Guido, and the Master Franciscus; but mention of the works of these men will most suitably occur in a consideration of the Italian school of this period, to which we may now proceed.

Although no examples of measurable music produced in Italy before the middle of the fourteenth century have as yet been discovered, there is ample reason to suppose that a school of composition had continued to exist in that country, from the time of Guido Aretino onwards. It is, for instance, at least highly probable that the obscure methods which towards the close of the eleventh century gave rise to the first system of contrary movement—the system so fully described in the treatise *Ad organum faciendum*, now in the Ambrosian Library at Milan<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Die mehrstimmige Musik des 14. Jahrhunderts': *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, 1902–3.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante*, p. 36.



—were of Italian origin ; and although it is clear from the evidence which we possess that the development of this system in the forms of *Organum purum*, *Conductus*, &c., was pushed forward most actively in France, we may also gather, from the reference by the Anonymus of the British Museum to certain Lombard methods of closing in *Organum*<sup>1</sup>, that the contemporary French forms of composition were well known in north Italy, and on the other hand that a peculiarity in the practice of the Italian composers was a matter of sufficient importance to receive mention in France when it occurred.

That the methods of the French composers of the thirteenth century were highly popular with the Italians appears from the fact that some, at least, of the religious confraternities of secular persons which began to be formed in Florence soon after the year 1310—societies whose usual music consisted of the local *Laudi Spirituali*, which were sung in unison—also possessed collections of French Motetts of the earlier period ; and in these, moreover, may often be recognized compositions also preserved in the famous Montpellier MS., or mentioned in thirteenth-century treatises. These collections<sup>2</sup> would seem to consist of Italian copies of the French works, and are so beautifully written, and so richly decorated with miniatures, that we may suppose the originals to have been still greatly in favour in the first quarter of the fourteenth century.

Direct proof, by way of examples, of the existence of a native Italian practice at the beginning of the fourteenth century is indeed, as has been said, wanting. But just as the existence of a Gallic school during this period, which is also apparently barren of musical examples in France, is to be inferred from *Ars Nova* and its attendant group of kindred treatises—since these are chiefly devoted to the examination of problems possessing no interest apart from the necessities of practice—so the *Pomerium*

<sup>1</sup> Cousse. *Script.* i. 358.    <sup>2</sup> Florence, *Bib. Naz.* ii. 1, 122, 212 (Ludwig).

and the *Brevis Compilatio* of Marchettus, written in Padua not long before 1310, imply, by their exhaustive and animated discussion of practical matters, the existence of a contemporary local body of composers, whose works must have supplied the material for argument and illustration. Indeed, the interesting examples of contrasted methods of prolation, in the works of Marchettus, which are given as 'the French way' and 'the Italian way' respectively, would alone be sufficient to show that the treatises of the Italian writer are in fact, not less than *Ars Nova*, representative of a living school.

But passing over the theory, we may again say, as regards the practice, that here too the difference between the schools of Italy and France is less real than apparent. As has just been said, their means were practically identical, and the apparent differences in composition arise chiefly from the use of simpler divisions by the Italians than by the French. The Italian school, for instance, is evidently attracted by the effects obtained from the use of the Imperfect measures, not only in prolation but also in mode and time: the French, on the other hand, perhaps from old habit, would seem to have been rather more inclined upon the whole to the use of Perfect measures. But the difference in this respect is not very considerable, and less remarkable indeed than that which is seen in the use of rhythms and syncopations, which in the French music are constant, difficult, and fatiguing to the ear, but in the Italian more essentially agreeable, and more sparingly used.

The Italian works of this period are of special interest, for it is clear, from a consideration of the musical remains of the middle of the fourteenth century, that the authoritative centre of production was at that time no longer to be found, as hitherto, in Paris and north-eastern France. Rather it must now be sought for in the regions of central Italy, in Tuscany, and especially in Florence. For whereas it is only with difficulty that we can collect in France less than a dozen names of representative writers

to form a school, of whom one only, Guillaume de Machault, would seem to have been at all prolific, we become aware, in examining the records of the Italian music in the districts just mentioned, of the existence of about thirty named composers, besides many anonymous, and of nearly five hundred specimens of their work. Padua, we supposed, might have possessed a school of composition during the first quarter of the century; but that school had by this time probably become merged in the Florentine, which was now evidently responding freely to the stimulus of the great local artistic movement dating from the later years of the preceding century, the effects of which, in poetry and plastic, are seen at their best in the works of Dante and of Giotto.

The chief master and head of this musical school was Francesco Landini, organist of San Lorenzo. This remarkable musician was born about 1325, and becoming blind at the age of nine years, he adopted at first the study of organ-playing—merely, it is said, as an amusement in hours of solitude—but soon discovered in himself the most striking gifts, not only of execution but also of composition. In his case, in fact, we may probably see the first recorded example of that universal kind of musical talent of which not a few practitioners of the art have since shown themselves to be possessed, that innate perception of musical things which instinctively affords the key to the technique of all instruments, and in contrapuntal composition often supplies the place of labour. For the proofs of his instrumental superiority we have to rely upon the eulogies of his contemporaries, but his facility in composition is established by the existing records of the school; for of the five hundred compositions, or thereabouts, which have been preserved, not less than one hundred and seventy—or a third of the whole—are by Francesco<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> These records, so far as they have as yet been discovered, are chiefly contained in eight MSS., of which two are still in Florence (*Med. Laur. Cod. Ned.-Palatino* 87, and *Bibl. Naz. Centrale, Panciatichiani*, 26); one in Modena

It would seem that Francesco, though organist of one of the principal churches in Florence, was not a composer especially of sacred music ; preferring, like almost all the members of the school, and indeed like Machault and the French also, to write in the prevailing native forms of *cantilena*. These native Italian forms were apparently, like those also of the contemporary French use, exceedingly few in number ; yet, since their methods were by no means rigid, they afforded scope for the timid ventures of the school, and proved sufficient. They were the *Ballata*—corresponding almost exactly to the French *Chanson Balladée*, and probably derived from it—the *Madrigale* or *Man-* (*Bibl. Estense*, L. 568) ; two in Padua (*Bibl. Univ.* 684 and 1475) ; one in Paris (*Bibl. Nat. fonds ital.* 568) ; one in London (*Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 29987) ; and one in Prague (*Bibl. Univ.* xi, E. 9). In seven of these MSS. the same names, and sometimes the same compositions, frequently occur ; but of the names preserved in the London MS. only a certain number are to be met with elsewhere, and for this reason that MS. has been supposed, not unreasonably, to be older than the rest. It bears several inscriptions, one of which gives the date of its purchase by the Museum,—‘ This MS. bought of B. Quaritch, 8 Apr. 1876.’ The Italian lettering upon the binding is ‘ *Secolo xvi.*’ This is of course erroneous. Another inscription is by a former owner,—‘ *Di Sen<sup>re</sup> Carlo di Tommaso Strozzi, 1670.*’ The index, made apparently by this owner, is as follows ;—*Musiche antiche in Cartapecora, cioè di Mag<sup>ri</sup> \* Jacobi di Bononia, \*Joan<sup>is</sup> de Flor<sup>a</sup>, \*Francisci de Flor<sup>a</sup> [Landini], Fr<sup>is</sup> \* Bartolini di Padua, Mag<sup>ri</sup> \*Joan<sup>is</sup> de Cascina, Ser \*Lorenzo prete di Firenze, Bonaiuti Corsini pictoris, Ser \*Donato da Cascina, Frate Vincenzo, Ser Niccolò di Proposto, Caccia di Ser \*Gherardello, di Fra Guglielmo di S<sup>to</sup> Spirito, \*Francesco degl’ Organi [Landini again], Don Pagolo, Pozzo da Collegrana, di Jacopo pianellaio di Firenze.*’ One or two names to be found in the volume have escaped the maker of this list—\*Egidio for instance, and *Andrea dei Servi*. The names marked with a star occur in other MSS. also, the rest are peculiar to this collection. The names which occur most frequently in other collections, but which are not found in the London MS., are—*Andrea, Pietro, Paulo, Zacharias, Enrico, Jacobello Bianchi, Giovanni Bazzo, Correzzario di Bologna, Grazioso Padovano, Gregorio Padovano, Ser Feo, Arrigo.*

The present writer is indebted for a great deal of information respecting the fourteenth-century music in France and Italy to an article by F. Ludwig, already referred to *ante* in note to p. 254 of this vol., published in the *Journal of the Internationale Musikgesellschaft*, 1902–3, and to another, chiefly upon the Italian school, by J. Wolf, in the same *Journal*, 1901–2. To these articles the reader may be referred for a fuller discussion of matters which the limits of our space oblige us to pass over lightly here.



*driale*, and the *Caccia*. The two latter forms were apparently of purely Italian origin. The Madrigal consists of two main portions, one composed for three or four stanzas of text—the music being the same for each stanza—and another, called the Ritor-nello, consisting of one stanza only, with fresh music, following in a different rhythm immediately upon the completion of the first portion. The *Caccia*, or Hunt, was a form of composition exhibiting a gay and bustling kind of music, originally confined to the representation of the incidents of the chase, but afterwards extended so far as to include the characteristic cries of the street and market.

Among the distinctive features of the treatment of these native musical forms by the Italian composers, the most important, undoubtedly, was their use of the great artistic device known as Canon. For this now no longer appears in embryonic shape, as it is seen in the short fragments of imitation and of vocal interchange which occur in the thirteenth-century music, but as the essential part of the scheme of operation, planned from the beginning and sustained throughout the composition. The French also would seem to have been acquainted with some sort of Canon, but they made no satisfactory use of it, while for the Italians the complete form had become at this time a recognized method of composition, and would appear to have been adopted as upon the whole the most pleasing manner of treating both the Madrigal and the *Caccia*.

The Canon of the Italians is in two parts only; and from this we might perhaps suppose that the great English specimen in four parts, with a *pes*—*Sumer is icumen in*—was unknown to them, and that their form of the device was an independent discovery. On the other hand we have to remember that in the fourteenth century, and especially in Italy, writing of any sort in four parts was unusual, and that compositions even in three parts were not nearly so numerous as those in two. Two-part writing was in fact at this time extremely characteristic of the Italian



practice, and might very well govern its treatment of Canon, perfect knowledge of other methods notwithstanding. Also we may observe that in Italian Canons the entry of the second voice is often indicated by means of a cross, as in the English work, and sometimes by a direction, such as—‘ *Tenor. De quo fit contratenor, fugando per unum tempus* ’ or ‘ *per duo tempora* ’ or whatever the time interval might be ; and this also finds its counterpart in the directions given in the Reading MS.—*Hanc rotam, &c.* It would seem then that as a result of the recent investigations respecting the music of Italy and France during this period, we may perhaps infer the existence of a more or less general diffusion of the knowledge of Canon in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and may suspect that if more of the English polyphonic music of this time, for instance, had been preserved—for indeed we possess fewer than twenty specimens in all—it might have revealed the existence of other examples of Canon besides *Sumer is icumen in*, though this, from the number of its parts, the general richness of its resources, and, above all, from its harmonic propriety—a quality, it may be said, which is entirely absent from the Italian Canons—must have been always far in advance of everything else of the same kind.

It may be mentioned that the name ‘ Canon,’ as the designation of this musical device, dates from this period ; it was first applied merely to the directions, which gave the *rule* of performance, but later, by a not uncommon kind of confusion of ideas, became transferred to the device itself. The alternative name of *Fuga*, or Fugue, which it also received, was of course derived from observation of the peculiar relation of the parts during the operation of the method, in which one voice is always retreating before the other at a distance which neither increases nor diminishes—*fugando per unum tempus, &c.*, as the rule in fact enjoins. The original designation, Canon, still survives for the strict imitation maintained throughout at the same interval, while the name of Fugue has been appropriated by the more modern devices.

MADRIGAL.

TU CHE L'OPERA D'ALTRUI.

[Mode, Time, and Prolation, all Imperfect.]

Florence: Bibl. Mediceo-Laurenziana.

Cod. Ned.-Palatino, 87.

Francesco di Landini.

Tu

Tu

che

l'o - pera al - trui vuo' giu - di -

che l'o - pera al - trui vuo' giu - di -

- ca

- ca

re . . . Guar -

re . . . Guar -

da se co ra -

da se co ra-gion di -

- gion di - fen - der sa -

- fen - der sa -

i . . . El . . .

i . . . El . . .

# THE FIRST DEVELOPMENT OF POLYPHONY 263

This musical score is written for two voices, likely Soprano and Alto, in a single system. The notation is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are in Italian and are distributed across the staves as follows:

- Staff 1 (Soprano):** bia - si - mo o - ver
- Staff 2 (Alto):** bia - si - mo o - ver lo - da
- Staff 3 (Soprano):** lo - da che tu da
- Staff 4 (Alto):** che tu da
- Staff 5 (Soprano):** (Contains several measures with rests and a sharp sign, indicating a melodic line without lyrics.)
- Staff 6 (Alto):** (Contains several measures with rests and a sharp sign, indicating a melodic line without lyrics.)
- Staff 7 (Soprano):** (Contains several measures with rests and a sharp sign, indicating a melodic line without lyrics.)
- Staff 8 (Alto):** (Contains several measures with rests and a sharp sign, indicating a melodic line without lyrics.)
- Staff 9 (Soprano):** (Contains several measures with rests and a sharp sign, indicating a melodic line without lyrics.)
- Staff 10 (Alto):** (Contains several measures with rests and a sharp sign, indicating a melodic line without lyrics.)

The score concludes with a double bar line and a first ending bracket labeled '1.' at the bottom right of the final staff.

[*Mode and Time Perfect, Prolation Imperfect.*]

Ritornello.

El . . . . . ver

El . . . . .

giam - - mai non può es - ser of - fe - - - - -

ver giammai non può es - ser of - fe - - - - -

so, Ma . . . . .

so, Ma . . . . .

. per o - ra e spes - so non è in - te - - - - -

. . . . . per o - ra e spes - so non è . . . in -

te - - - - - so.

te - - - - - so.



MADRIGAL.

CAVALCANDO.

[*Canon, two in one, in the Unison.*]

Florence: Bibl. Naz. Centrale.  
MSS. Panciatichiani, No. 26.

Maestro Piero.

Ca - val -

can - do con un

Ca - val

gio - vi - ne ac -

can do

-cor to qual . . .

con un gio - vi -

i - o bra - mo -

no ac - cor - to

so di tro - va - - -

qual . . . i - - - - o

re . . . a - - - mo - - - -

bra - - - mo - - - so di tro -

re, giu - gne - mo . . . in

ra - - - - re . . . a - - - mo - -

un . . . bel . . . . .

re, giu - gne - - - -

pra - - - - to . . . . .

mo . . . in un . . . . . bel . . . . .

# THE FIRST DEVELOPMENT OF POLYPHONY 267

pien . . di . . fio - - - - -  
 pra - - - - - to . . . . . pien . . di . .

re. Cias - cun  
 L'u - na . . . .  
 fio - - - re. Cias - cun  
 L'u - na . . . .

Ritornello.

ha . . . . pre - - - so el suo  
 co - - - gli oc - chi, . . l'al  
 ha pre - so el suo  
 co - - gli oc - chi, l'al

per sua va ghez  
 - tra col - - la trez  
 per sua va ghez  
 - tra col - - la trez

za.  
 za.  
 za.  
 za.

Sometimes the subject of the Canon—especially if it be at all extended before the entry of the second voice—is accompanied by a counterpoint for the third voice, without words, which is intended purely as a filling up, and is not seen or heard of again. This feature may be observed, for instance, in a madrigal by Zacharias, *Cacciando per gustar*, the opening of which is here given :—

## MADRIGALE.

## CACCIANDO PER GUSTAR.

Florence : Bibl. Med.-Laur.

Cod. Ned.-Palatino, 87.

Zacharias.

Cac - - - cian - do per . . gus - tar . quel te -

so - ro . . . per . as - pri monti e bos-chi pe - ri - gio -

si d'uno bos - chet - to d'ar - bus - sel - li d'o - ro, &c.

Cac - - - - - cian - do, &c.

Ai cenci, ai toppi, ai vetro, ai ferro, ai ra - me rot.to, &c.

## MUSICA FICTA.

In passing from our examples of the French and Italian work of the fourteenth century, some reference must be made to a specially remarkable and important feature of these compositions, namely, the exceedingly free use of chromatic alteration which they display. This freedom passes indeed far beyond the recognized necessity of correcting the imperfection or redundancy of certain intervals, of which notice was taken by many of the thirteenth-century treatise writers, and most clearly and emphatically perhaps by the author of the MS. of S. Dié<sup>1</sup>, whose remarks upon this subject have been repeated at length and verbatim by the compiler of *Ars Nova* <sup>2</sup>. The chromatic alterations, indeed, in our more recent examples would seem to reveal some different purpose altogether, and we can now hardly avoid one of two conclusions—either that the scope of the doctrine of *Musica Ficta* had at this time become suddenly enlarged, or that alterations long sanctioned in practice, but not hitherto indicated by signs, were at last and for the first time openly recognized.

Upon a consideration of the facts, so far as we know them, it will no doubt appear that the latter of these conclusions is the more probable. Already, indeed, in the treatise of Jean de Garlande <sup>3</sup>, dating from the first quarter of the thirteenth century, certain remarks of great importance for the subject, as revealing a comparatively ancient free use of chromatics, are to be found. We have already drawn attention to this custom in the course of the present work, but its full import could not profitably be explained at that stage of our inquiry. We may therefore now examine it more particularly, together with its examples.

<sup>1</sup> *Cousse. Script.* i. 314 ; also *ante*, note to p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> *Cousse. Script.* iii. 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* i. 97.



An interesting feature of this early notice of chromatic alteration is the difficulty with which the writer communicates his information. It is evident that the subject is new, and that its reduction to rule is still beyond the power of the master. Even the name of *Musica Ficta* is apparently unknown to him, and nothing better than *Error*, or, more fully, *Error tertii soni*, occurs as a general description of the method. *Error* is of course sufficiently expressive, but the bearing of 'the third sound' upon the matter is not explained, for it can hardly be due to the fact that in the author's examples the note to be altered always stands (apparently arbitrarily) third in the group.

'Error <sup>1</sup> of the third sound,' says De Garlande, 'occurs when we improve the relations of sounds that go badly together. And

<sup>1</sup> Error tertii soni, quando ordinamus sonos male convenientes. Quod per quatuor regulas cognoscimus, quarum prima talis est: quotiens ascendimus per tonos integros, et, postea iungendo semitonium, in tonum convertitur, et ultimus tonus in semitonium. Quod fit mediante synemenon, ut patet in exemplo : [Exemplum.]

Alia regula de eodem est hic; si descendimus tonum et tertium tonum ascendimus, ibi similiter per synemenon fiet subtractio toni vel soni, ut hic : [Exemplum.]

Alia regula de eodem: quotiens ascendimus et iterum descendimus, ascensus largiatur. Et hoc fit aliquotiens per synemenon, aliquotiens autem non, ut hic : [Exemplum.]

Quarta regula est: continuatio sonorum, si post semitonium fit vel tonus, et conveniens fit super quietem, penultima proportio minuitur, sive fuerit semitonium, vel tonus : [Exemplum.]

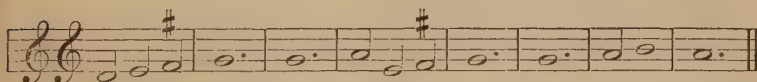
Iste regule tenentur in cantu plano, sed aliquotiens restringuntur in discantu propter habitudinem concordantie ipsius discantus; quia subtilis debet cantum suum conformare respectu superioris cantus, vel inclinare vel acuere, ut melius conformetur concordantie, in quantum poterit, supradictas regulas observando.

[*Editor's note*: Whilst anxious to preserve Prof. Wooldridge's interpretation of De Garlande's statement, the editor feels it incumbent upon him to add that it is open to criticism, and even contradiction, on various points. He has therefore asked Mr. A. H. Fox Strangways, who first drew his attention to this matter, to put the case for those who disagree with Prof. Wooldridge; and the argument will be found in Appendix I.]

we know it by four rules, of which the first is thus :—When we ascend through whole tones, and afterwards coming to the semitone this is changed to a tone and the final tone to a semitone. Which is accomplished by means of the synemmenôn, as appears from the example ' :—



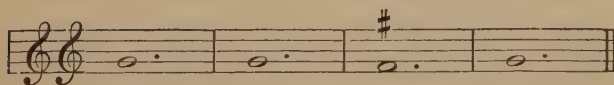
This is of course throughout somewhat confused, and the reverse of explanatory, while the absence of the chromatic sign renders the example less useful probably than was intended ; but its meaning may perhaps be gathered from the following rendering in modern notes :—



' Another rule for the same is this :—If we descend a tone and again ascend by the same interval, then in like manner, by synemmenôn, the subtraction of the semitone from the tone should be made ' :—

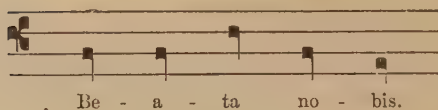


Cunc - ti - po - tens.



Cunc - ti - po - tens.

' Another rule for the same :—Whenever we ascend and descend again, the ascending interval should be augmented. And this may be done sometimes by synemmenôn, but sometimes not, as here ' :—



The fourth rule is too concisely expressed to admit of literal translation, but it may perhaps be explained as follows :—It applies, the author says, to a series of conjunct sounds (such as the example) occurring most naturally upon the close ; the series may conclude either after the semitone (that is on C), or may continue till after the tone (that is to D). In either case the last interval must be diminished. We may note that while this is already effected naturally in the first case, in the second it must be brought about by artificial means.



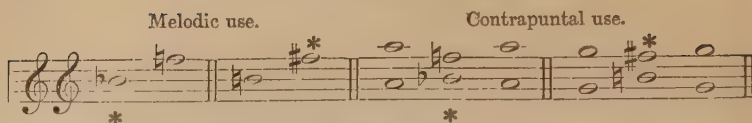
‘ These rules are observed in plainsong, but are sometimes restricted in their application to discant, on account of the nature of the consonances employed in that kind of composition ; for the skilful singer ought to shape his melody with regard to that of the more important part, making his note flat or sharp according as it may be the better framed to concord, as well as the circumstances will allow, and keeping in mind the rules given above.’

It is to be observed that the author speaks of performing the

operation which he is describing '*mediante synemenon*'; and by '*synemenon*' he means the chromatic note whose sign is shown in our translations. We have here therefore another instance of the transition of ideas, similar to that which we have just met with in the case of Canon; for the name of the tetrachord whose function in the Greek music was chromatic alteration is now seen as applied to the altered note itself. And this licence dates from very early times.

The difficulty which the *synemmenôn* tetrachord was invented to remove arose, as is of course well known, from the existence in the scale of the semitones at B-C and E-F. The succession of fifths and fourths proper to the scale was affected by the occurrence of these intervals, the fifth between B and F being imperfect, and its inversion—the fourth between F and B—redundant. The difficulty was overcome by dividing the interval B-A into two equal parts, of which one was added when necessary to B, with the premonitory sign *b*; so that the semitone now lay between A and B (*b*), and the fifth B (*b*)-F was perfect. This fiction was temporary in its operation, and held good only during the moment of necessity; with the passing of the occasion the scale resumed its normal form and values.

Useful as this method was, however, something still remained for later times to do. For the inventors of the arrangement just described—the only form of *Musica Ficta* which was admitted as strictly allowable by the most orthodox writers—omitted any recognition of the fact that the desired object might also be attained by a corresponding manipulation of the remaining semitone,—by the addition that is to say of half of the interval F-G to F, with the sign *#*—thus creating a full tone between E and F (*#*) and a semitone between F (*#*) and G. The general principle may be stated thus:—The interval B-F requiring one semitone to make it perfect, this may be supplied in either the higher or lower region of the scale.



The star indicates the altered note.

In this way apparently the sharp (#) made its entry into music, though the sign was not at first written in the learned treatises, and only very occasionally in the early discant. It soon became exceedingly in favour, especially in melody, and above all in plainsong. This last fact, for which we have De Garlande's explicit statement as our authority, is most remarkable, since, from the examples which he also gives, it is clear that the # was used not only in fulfilment of its original purpose but also independently, and for the sake of the powerful 'leading' quality which it possesses. The effect of this quality upon the character of plainsong may be observed in the application of De Garlande's rules to the melody *Cunctipotens genitor Deus*, of which the first four notes are given transposed as his third example, while the whole will be found at page 45 of the present work. The execution of this melody according to the new rules will afford some idea of the confusion to which the ecclesiastical modes must have been reduced at the beginning of the thirteenth century.

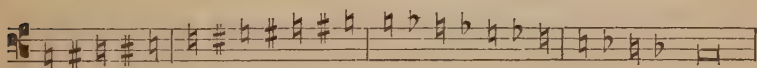
But De Garlande's illustrations are not only remarkable for their early indication of the free use of the 'synemenon' between F and G. It is also evident, both from his language—'whenever such and such circumstances occur'—and from the actual appearance of C# in his fourth example, that he desired to impose no formal restriction upon the use of alteration in melody, and that not only the interval F-G, but every whole tone, indeed, in the scale, was to be considered as possibly divisible, and productive of the chromatic note. And this was also probably the opinion of De Garlande's great disciple, the Anonymus of the



British Museum, whose short treatise *De Sinemenis*, written upon part of the margin of his larger work<sup>1</sup>, would seem indeed to be little more than an informal analysis of the scale undertaken in this point of view; and the result of this analysis is apparently a recognition of the existence of a 'sinemenon' or 'cruæ' (#), between the two notes composing each whole tone, throughout.

Quite early in the fourteenth century, in the treatise *Ars Contrapuncti*—one of the group formerly ascribed to De Vitry<sup>2</sup>—we find the universal application of chromatic alteration boldly asserted as a law. 'Music is called *Ficta*,' says the author, 'when we make a tone to be a semitone, and conversely, a semitone to be a tone. For every tone is divisible into two semitones, and consequently the semitonic signs can appear between all tones.'

Thus :—



Such then, apparently, was the general theory, settled before the year 1320, with respect to the multiplication of semitones. Its definition was an event of the highest importance for the art of music, since, as will be seen, the learned writers, in their endeavours to explain the empirical practice revealed in De Garlande's examples, have once more evolved the principle of a chromatic scale.

To this period, which saw the settlement of the theory of multiplied semitones, belongs also the reduction of the first empirical use of the enlarged *Musica Ficta* to intelligible rule. And since the most important results of that enlargement, in our present point of view, are to be seen in its extension of the

<sup>1</sup> B. M. Royal MSS. 12, C, vi. Also *Cousse. Script.* i. 327.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 28.

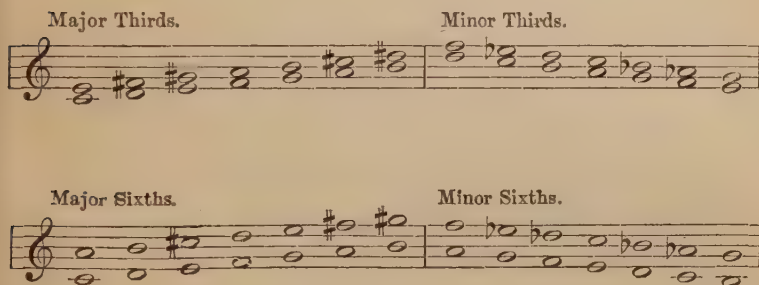
existing methods of counterpoint, we shall do well, before indicating the nature of that extension, to state very briefly what those methods were.

The rules of the contemporary counterpoint, as regards progression, although they vary in different treatises with respect to unimportant matters, may be said to have been generally as follows. Composers recognized five species of concordant intervals, of which three were perfect—octave, fifth, and unison, and two imperfect—the major sixth and the third; the minor sixth was still counted among the discords, and could therefore only be used uncorrected in counterpoint as one of a group of notes of small value. In progression the most natural and obvious method was thought to be from perfect to imperfect intervals and vice versa, and in the upper part as much as possible by conjunct and contrary movement. So that in practice the unison was generally followed by the major or minor third or the fifth, both thirds by the fifth, or the major third sometimes by the major sixth or even the octave, the fifth by the major sixth, the major sixth by the octave. And all these progressions could be reversed. The general practice is illustrated in the following example :—



It is evident from this example that the chromatic notes which appear in it have nothing to do with *Musica Ficta* in the old sense, with the perfection, that is to say, of the fourth and fifth; on the contrary we see that they belong to a system which is connected with the essentially imperfect species, and that they are used when needful, to create major and minor varieties respectively of these species, upon notes which naturally do not exhibit them. May we not therefore say that the power to do this, which arises directly from the enlarged system of *Musica Ficta*, has greatly

increased the resources of the scale? For indeed—to apply the principle fully—the diatonic octave, though containing within itself only three major and four minor thirds, and four major and three minor sixths, may be made by means of the chromatic semitones to exhibit either of these intervals upon every note.



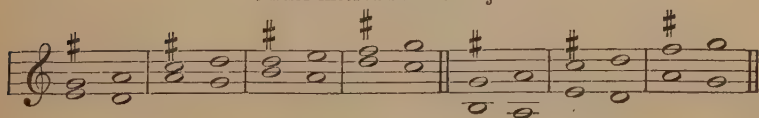
The rules for the application of the chromatic signs, as given in the treatise *Ars Discantus*, ascribed to De Muris<sup>1</sup>, were few and simple:—

1. In the case of minor thirds and sixths, followed according to the usual method by fifth and octave respectively, the upper voice also rising one degree, the minor interval is made major by #.

2. In the case of major thirds and sixths, again followed by fifth and octave respectively, the upper voice moreover descending one degree, the major interval is made minor by b.

#### Example of Rule i.

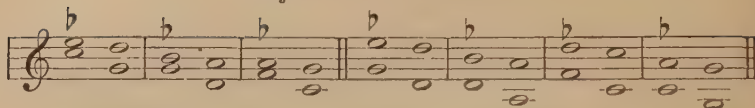
Minor intervals made Major.



<sup>1</sup> Cousse. *Script*, iii. 68.

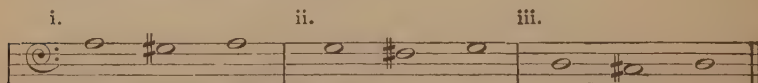
## Example of Rule ii.

Major intervals made Minor.



As regards the purely melodic use of alteration, it will be found, from the rules given in this treatise, that of all the licences formerly allowed, according to De Garlande's account, only one was permitted in the fourteenth century. It will also be observed that in stating these rules, and in his reference to the use of chromatics in counterpoint, the author of this treatise employs the hexachordal names of the notes which he has occasion to mention. His rules are as follows :—

1. Whenever in plainsong *la sol la* occurs the *sol* must be 'altered' and the passage sung *fa mi fa*.
2. When *sol fa sol* appears the *fa* must be 'altered' and the passage sung *fa mi fa*.
3. When the plainsong is *re ut re* the *ut* should be 'altered' and the passage sung *fa mi fa*.



4. In counterpoint also these three notes, *sol fa* and *ut*, are 'altered,' and no others.

It may appear, perhaps, as somewhat remarkable that the first use, by the learned writers, of the Sol-fa nomenclature, proper to the hexachordal system, should coincide with the first settlement of the rules of chromatic alteration; for although the hexachordal system had been, from the time of its completion, occasionally described, yet, apart from these descriptions, there is scarcely to be found, until the period at which we have now arrived, any designation of the notes of the scale otherwise than by letters. But the reason for the change is this, that the new chromatic

alteration of notes had revealed the existence of a musical principle, perceived at first entirely in its practical aspect, which could only be accurately stated by a reference to the hexachordal system, and by the use of its peculiar nomenclature.

#### THE HEXACHORDAL SYSTEM.

The hexachordal system had its origin, apparently, in a musical expedient devised by Guido, with a view to supersede the prevailing methods of teaching singing. We know, however, very little respecting the beginning and growth of the system, and it is of course possible that it may have had its rise in considerations of a more theoretical nature than those suggested by the direction of a choir. But Guido's language, in speaking of the short scale of six notes in his own letter to his friend Michael, *De Ignoto Cantu*<sup>1</sup>, is that of a man who has discovered an extraordinarily successful means of saving time and trouble in his work, and in fact suggests nothing else with regard to it.

According to the prevailing methods singers were taught by ear; that is to say, by listening to the notes of the *cantus*, as they were either tediously evolved from the monochord or sung by the master, until the various intervals of each passage were firmly impressed upon the memory. These processes Guido does not blame, but he compares the length of time which they require, and their limited result, with the relative speed and large capacity of his own method, in which by learning one melody the pupil acquires the means of singing all others. His position is based upon experience. It will be found, he says in effect, that in the case of an attractive metrical melody, for instance, already known or soon learned by heart, the sound—including the syllable of text—with which it begins, or the first sound and syllable indeed of any of its lines or sections, is easily at any time recalled to mind; and if while the melody is being learned a

<sup>1</sup> Gerbert, *Scriptores*, ii. 43.



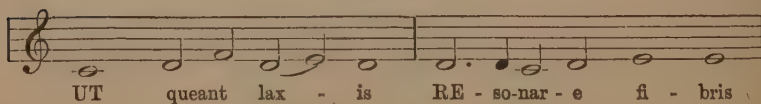
written copy be exhibited before the eyes of the singers, and the sound and syllable be thus associated with the written sign of the note, the sound will at any time and in any circumstances be remembered 'at sight of the sign.

The material for the method founded upon these observations is contained in a single verse of a hymn in sapphic metre, beginning *Ut queant laxis*, proper to the feast of St. John the Baptist; and the suitability of this verse for Guido's purpose arises from the fact that each of its sections begins upon a different degree of the scale, proceeding regularly from below upwards. It is given by Guido in his letter, as follows :—

C	DF	<u>DE</u>	D	DD	CD	EE
Ut	queant	lax	- is	resonare	fibris	
<u>EFGE</u>	<u>DEC</u>	D	FG	a	<u>GFEDD</u>	
Mi	- ra	gesto	- rum	famuli	tuo	- rum,
<u>GaGFE</u>	F	GD	a	G	a	<u>FG</u> a a
Sol	- ve	pol	- luti	labii	rea	- tum,
<u>GF</u>	<u>ED</u>	C	ED			
Sanc	- te	Io	- hannes.			

In the attempts which have been from time to time made to show this melody in modern notes it has always represented as unrhythmic, and has therefore been no doubt always a subject of extreme perplexity to the reader, who wonders that a composition so devoid of character and meaning could ever have been thought to answer Guido's purpose. Shown, however, as it was probably sung in Guido's time, according to the mediaeval accentual form of the metre, it is far from displeasing :

#### Mode ii.



MI - ra ges - to - rum FA - mu-li tu - o - rum,

SOL - ve pol - lu - ti LA - bi-i re - a - tum,

Sanc - te Io - han - nes.

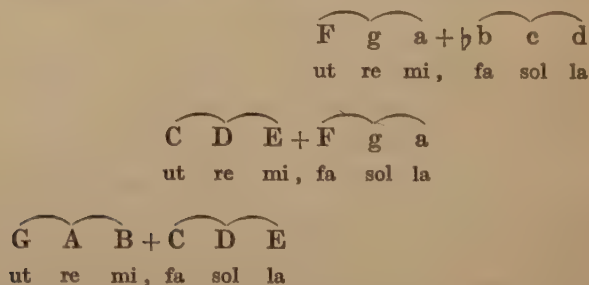
Guido next indicates the application of this material to his purpose. 'If then,' he says, 'an experienced singer shall so know the opening of each of these sections that he can, without hesitation, begin forthwith any one of them that he pleases, he will easily be able to utter, with absolute correctness, each of these six notes, wherever he may see them'; and he finally declares that this assertion is entirely borne out by his own experience.—'For since I have undertaken to teach this method to my boys, certain of them have succeeded, easily, within three days, in singing melodies previously unknown to them; a result which formerly, by the other methods, could not have been brought about in many weeks<sup>1</sup>.'

There can be little doubt that in the six notes, C-a, brought forward by Guido, we have the beginning of the hexachordal system, or that the remaining members were created upon this pattern, to afford a means of extension, by which not only the notes immediately above and below this group, but also, by

<sup>1</sup> Si quis itaque uniuscuiusque particulae caput ita exercitatus noverit, ut confestim quaecumque particulam voluerit indubitanter incipiat, eadem sex voces ubicumque viderit secundum suas proprietates facile pronuntiare poterit. . . . Namque postquam hoc argumentum cepi pueris tradere, ante triduum quidam eorum potuerunt ignotos cantus leviter canere, quod aliis argumentis nec multis hebdomadibus poterat evenire. Gerbert, *Scriptores*, ii. 45.

repetition, all the notes of the complete scale, as far as the treble *c*, might be brought within the scope of the method. Indeed, if we consider how few are the melodies that could be confined within the limits of the short scale C-a, it is evident that the need for extension must have been felt at once, and that the groups G-E and F-d, which complete the essential part of the system, must have been added within a very short period of time.

The complete hexachordal system consists then of these three short scales and their octaves, and each scale, now considered in itself, may be seen as containing two groups of notes, each group consisting of two conjunct whole tones connected by a semitone. The method of their arrangement is indicated in our illustration, where the hexachords are shown as overlapping, each repeating in its first half the last half of that below it. But each hexachord should also exhibit the six syllables of the Guidonian use, in the original order, as its characteristic nomenclature.



The enlargement of the system beyond the six notes of Guido's formula, to include the bass G on the one hand and the treble *c* on the other, was intended, as we supposed, to bring about a complete extension of the advantage which was proposed by Guido—to make it possible, that is to say, for singers to pass through the entire scale, calling each note by its Guidonian name, and also conversely enabling them, at sight either of a Guidonian name or of one of the characters of the common letter

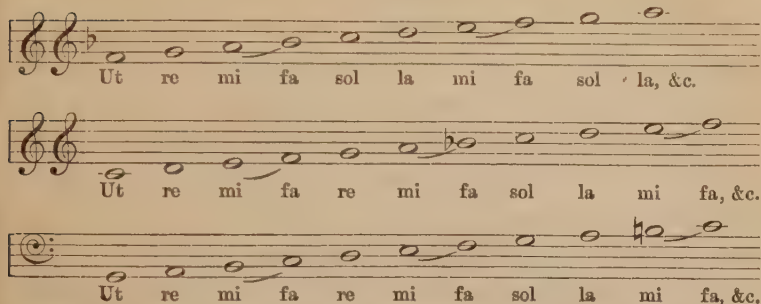
notation, to enunciate its appropriate sound, in any circumstances or combinations, with confidence and correctness.

And in order to illustrate the method by which this result is actually brought about, and the singer directed in his passage from hexachord to hexachord, a table of the complete system is given upon p. 284.

The direction, it may be briefly said, which the singer receives is by means of a rule which obliges him, in passing upward in continuous deduction through these scales, so to name the notes which he utters that the syllables *mi-fa* shall always contain the semitone, and that the whole tones should naturally fall upon the intervals *ut-re*, *re-mi*, *fa-sol*, *sol-la*. The necessity for this rule arises from the peculiar arrangement of the hexachords—springing, so to speak, one from another, and each in turn originating the next above—which gives to every note, except the first three and the last of all, more than one name. For instance, the sixth note of the scale in our table, E, is *la* in the *Hexachordum durum*, while in the *Hexachordum naturale* it is *mi*. But the singer can of course employ only one of these syllables ; which then, in passing upwards, is he to use ? The rule here removes all difficulty, and the note E, *la*, which ends the first hexachord, being also the lower member of a semitonic interval, indicates *mi* as the proper syllable for this sound. The singer, therefore, beginning upon the low G, and intending to proceed upwards beyond E, must prepare for the necessary change of nomenclature by a *mutation*, or transition into the neighbouring hexachord, an operation which is best performed at the fourth note, *fa*, of the first hexachord, by a passage thence to the second note, *re*, of the *Hexachordum naturale*. Thus the singer proceeds correctly through the semitonic interval, and from its *fa* he again passes to *re* in the third hexachord next above—the *Hexachordum molle*. Here special treatment is necessary, in order to prevent possible false relation between the B $\flat$  of this hexachord





THE HEXACHORDAL MUTATIONS IN THE SCALES OF  
G, C, AND F.

We may now perhaps more clearly understand the directions given by the writer quoted at the close of our account of *Musica Ficta*, who says that when the notes *la sol la*, *sol fa sol*, and *re ut re* occur in any passage, the middle note must be raised, and the group, in each case, must be sung *fa mi fa*. In other words, the whole tones *a G a*, *G F G*, and *D C D*, should, on account of the character of their progression and according to the usual practice in such cases, be transformed into semitones, and sung *a G<sup>#</sup> a*, *G F<sup>#</sup> G*, and *D C<sup>#</sup> D*—for these are the notes expressed by the formula *fa mi fa* as applied to the writer's three examples respectively. But *G<sup>#</sup>*, *F<sup>#</sup>*, and *C<sup>#</sup>* are not to be found in our table, where *fa mi fa* expresses the notes *C B C*, *F E F*, *B<sup>b</sup> A B<sup>b</sup>*, and no others. It is clear, therefore, that while the three examples given by the writer belong, without the *#*, to the normal system based on *G*, the same notes, with the *#* and called *fa mi fa*, can only form part of imaginary systems, exactly corresponding to the normal, based on *E*, *D*, and *A* respectively, and obtained by means of supposed transposition. And from this we see that the musicians of this period, having first realized the fact that every whole tone can be divided into two semitones, had now also perceived the possibility of creating the interval *mi fa* at any point in the hexachordal system, and therefore of modulating into similar systems based upon any given note of the scale.

FAULX BOURDON.

It will have been observed that the various specimens which have illustrated in our work the first appearance and early progress of polyphony to the end of the thirteenth century are to be recognized, almost without exception, either as forming part of the actual services of the church or as closely connected with them ; and considering the ever-increasing volume of production, in the same kind, and the condition of confidence and security on the part of the composers which this would naturally suggest, we might perhaps be inclined to assume that the prevailing methods of composition in parts had at all times hitherto commended themselves, upon the whole, to the authorities whose sanction was necessary to their use in the church. Through all their changes, apparently, these methods had been at least tolerated, and even when not obviously in full accord with the conceptions entertained by the Roman *Curia*, their authors would seem to have been free, at any rate, from direct official interference.

Yet, if we consider the course of musical practice during the earlier stages of the polyphonic evolution, it must be evident, even in the limited view afforded by our illustrations, that the methods developed by 'organists' and composers were frequently such as might well have given rise to dissatisfaction, and even alarm, among the guardians of the ecclesiastical traditions. It is indeed probable that the polyphonic principle itself, manifested in the independent movement of the individual voices, had been, at the time of its first appearance in music, of necessity the cause of considerable disturbance in the recognized methods of conducting the divine service. For if we may believe that the typical rendering of the ecclesiastical melodies which received the festal ornament of the first, or strictly parallel, organum is correctly represented by a graceful fluent form of song, such as that which has been apparently discovered and restored to us by

the learned research of modern times, it will be evident that while this beautiful musical conception, sacred, if we have rightly discerned it, from immemorial antiquity, is perfectly suitable to the purposes of strict organum, it must have given way at once before the necessities of independent movement. The fluent method is, in fact, compatible only with perfect parallelism in the accompanying parts—with simple transpositions, that is to say, of the original passage, at sight, to the interval of some perfect concord—and the gradual departure from parallelism, the necessary deviations enjoined upon the organal voice, first, and the movement in a direction consistently contrary to that of the plainsong which was expressly recommended later, would have been impracticable in organum if the melody had remained rapid and ornate in its method of performance. Unless, then, we are mistaken in our main point, we must suppose that the abandonment of the old fluent utterance of the ecclesiastical melodies, and the adoption of a new rendering, in which all notes, whether simple originally or grouped, were now expressed by sounds of practically equal duration, must have been the work mainly of that period in which the change from the strict to the free kinds of organum was accomplished. Occurring first as a necessity of the free organum, the new method would naturally, from its relatively greater facility, by degrees supersede the older one in the strict organum also, and eventually, no longer confined to festal purposes, would be extended to the music of the ordinary service, in unison or for the single voice.

The first direct approaches, therefore, towards polyphony had already in all probability given rise to a most important change in the rendering of ecclesiastical melody; yet, since the original notes themselves of the melody had been in all cases carefully preserved in their proper order, by both choir and clergy, these persons were still apparently held guiltless of sacrilegious innovation.

In accepting as necessary the reduction of all the notes of the authorized texts to a common value, the rulers of the church may of course be supposed to have accepted also the kind of music which had created the necessity for alteration—a grave and dignified kind, in which the organal melody, free, yet exactly similar in character to the subject, combined with it to create an effect of great solemnity, and a style which was at once perceived as properly representative of the actual spirit of public worship. This style, therefore, soon became, in fact, as we have already seen, the ideal of concerted composition in ecclesiastical music ; its chief characteristics—its gravity, and the deliberate nature of its movement—are often referred to as essential by learned writers from the ninth to the eleventh centuries, and were evidently jealously guarded.

But the primary alteration of the values of the grouped notes of the old cantus, by which each sound received the value formerly accorded to the whole group, and was itself reckoned as a *tempus*, had prepared the way for other innovations, characteristic of the age of discant, such for instance as the enormous and indefinite elongation of the sounds of the *cantus* in *Organum purum*, or their arrangement in poetic rhythm, either simply, as in that form in which the subject runs together with the discant in some well-known metre, or in the more elaborate system of *ordines* employed in the tenor of the Motett. And though each of these methods rendered the ecclesiastical melody totally indistinguishable, here again a consideration of the necessity for some further alteration of values if discant was to exist at all, and of the fact that the original notes themselves of the melody were still actually present in the composition, in unaltered sequence, might well suggest an indulgent view of the conduct of the discantors.

Yet although this indulgent view of the changes now apparent in the methods of music may well have prevailed during the earliest



periods of discant, while the tendency of its innovations was not clearly perceived, it is difficult to suppose that this frame of mind can have long continued among the higher ecclesiastical authorities in view of the further developments of fixed rhythm, which prepared the way for perfectly measured music, developments which, although they were no doubt the natural consequence of the introduction of the poetic metres, were yet none the less opposed to the actual sentiment of public worship, and destructive of the gravity and solemnity which are its special characteristics. For the poetic metres, in music, especially when they are simply vocalized, and this was their most frequent use in the great period of discant, are not reconcilable with religious feeling, but are frankly jovial and secular in their effect. The singer, indeed, embarking upon one of the long passages of discant, for instance, contained in our examples of *Conductus*, or of *Organum purum* in its measured portions, soon becomes aware of the true spirit of the continuous melodic rhythm ; though he may begin with caution, by degrees his utterance becomes involuntarily louder, more and more rapid, and more and more emphatic, and his surrender is at last so complete that he restrains himself with difficulty, or perhaps even does not restrain himself, from sympathetic movements of the feet and contortions of the body. All these phenomena at least were characteristic of the discanting of the thirteenth century ; the lack of self-restraint in the singers of the time is in fact often commented upon by the learned writers, by whom it is treated as affording a shocking exhibition, the degraded character of which can only be revealed to the reader's mind by the most bitterly sarcastic descriptions.

In the practice of extempore discant also, a poor and feeble copy, musically speaking, of the methods employed in the written compositions, ample scope was afforded for dissonance in the construction and for licences and exaggerations of utterance of every possible kind ; and the appearance of these faults, probably more



than anything else in the conditions of the time, must have contributed to create in the minds of the authorities a doubt, soon openly expressed, respecting the possible continuance of music for more than one voice as a part of the public worship of the church <sup>1</sup>.

Returning to the composers, we may note as certain another

<sup>1</sup> 'Music,' bluntly says John of Salisbury, in the twelfth century, when the methods of discant were developing, 'defiles the service of religion. For the admiring simple souls of the congregation are of necessity depraved—in the very presence of the Lord, in the sacred recesses themselves of the sanctuary—by the riot of the wantoning voice, by its eager ostentation, and by its womanish affectations in the mincing of notes and sentences.' 'Could you but hear,' he continues in effect, 'one of these enervating performances executed with all the devices of the art, you might think it a chorus of Sirens, but not of men, and you would be astonished at the singers' facility, with which indeed neither that of the nightingale or parrot, nor of whatever else there may be that is more remarkable in this kind, can compare. For this facility is displayed in long ascents and descents, in the dividing or in the redoubling of notes, in the repetition of phrases, and the clashing of the voices, while, in all this, the high or even the highest notes of the scale are so mingled with the lower and lowest, that the ears are almost deprived of their power to distinguish.' *Polycraticus*, i. 6.

The methods of rendering the *Hoquet* and the guttural *plica* are satirized in the *Speculum Charitatis* by Ailred, a contemporary of the writer quoted above; the passage is here given from Prynne's translation of it, employed in his notorious work, *Histriomastix*. 'Sometimes thou mayst see a man with an open mouth, not to sing, but as it were to breathe out his last gasp, by shutting in his breath, and by a certain ridiculous interception of his voice to threaten silence, and now again to imitate the agonies of a dying man, or the ecstasies of such as suffer.'

Jean de Muris, also, in his *Speculum Musice*, vii. 9, refers particularly to two classes of singers as especially offensive to the cultivated musician; on the one hand the merely incompetent performers, ignorant of the nature of consonance and dissonance and creating a constant cacophony, yet full of confidence and ready to defend their intervals as 'new consonances'; and on the other hand those 'who although they may know something of discant according to the modern use (about 1300), yet do not exhibit a good style, discanting too wantonly (that is to say in too floreated a manner), and multiplying superfluous notes; some of them 'hoquet' too much, they break and divide the notes more than is desirable, and perform their leaps and other vocal antics at inopportune moments. They bark and bay in the manner of dogs, and like lunatics delight in disorderly and aimless hurrysings to and fro.' *Cousse, Script.* ii. 394.

source of probably extreme annoyance to the clergy, namely, the introduction of secular songs, even though disfigured and distorted, into the upper parts of Motetts. And though the songs themselves were not often recognizable, from the treatment which they had received, this cannot also be said of the words, generally either erotic or bacchanalian, which were continued in the new circumstances apparently without mitigation of any kind.

The long passages of metrical rhythm characteristic of the music of the thirteenth century were not employed in the compositions of the age immediately succeeding, but an effect of rapidity in all the parts, which might have been thought unsuitable to sacred music, was now obtained by means of the frequent use of notes of smaller value than the *tempus*, of the semibreve for instance. The time value proper to the *tempus*, or breve, was the smallest capable of utterance by the fully produced voice<sup>1</sup>; while the *tempus* therefore was steady and strong, and the passage from it to the next note clear and definite, the utterance of the smaller value, not employing the full energy of the voice, must have been comparatively weak, and its movement rapid, light, and gliding, productive of the effect so often described by the learned writers as 'wanton'; and although the result of any introduction of values smaller than those already existing must always be to increase the length of the older notes, yet this increase is not so much observed by the ear as are the apparent freedom and velocity derived from the new smaller values. If therefore we may suppose the ecclesiastical view of the semibreve, when employed not as a passing note, but as a part of the construction of the discant<sup>2</sup>, to have been unfavourable, there can be little doubt that upon the introduction of the minim the dismay of the clergy must have become complete.

<sup>1</sup> 'Unum tempus appellatur illud quod est minimum in plenitudine vocis.' *Ars Cantus mensurabilis*; Cousse. *Script.* i. 120.

<sup>2</sup> See the Motetts contained in pp. 204-27.

But perhaps the most serious objection, on the part of the clergy, to the continuance of the prevailing state of things, in which the conduct of festal music was, evidently, largely controlled by the laymen of the choir, must have arisen from the improper treatment of the ecclesiastical Modes by singers who were apparently either ignorant or careless with respect to their special characteristics. The clergy themselves, indeed, had been, from the first establishment of the Modes, unwittingly guilty of a certain error with regard to them, in a system of nomenclature, still prevailing in the present day, in which the Greek names are employed, but applied to the wrong scales<sup>1</sup>; this error, however, leaves the scales themselves intact, while that of the extempore discant confuses and destroys them, since it consists in a disregard of their true limits and in the use of irregular modulations as points of repose. That these faults were easily avoided, at all

<sup>1</sup> The Greek names, though not often used in the mediaeval treatises, were probably first attached to the Modes by the compilers of the final system (Introductory Volume, Chapter IX). These authorities had derived from the later classical writers a knowledge of the names of the Greek modes, and of their order, Hypodorian, Hypophrygian, &c.; but they were ignorant of the fact that in the written Greek scale the lowest note is at the top and the highest at the bottom. In applying the Greek names, therefore, to their own scale, in which the lowest note is at the bottom, they reversed the whole doctrine, thus :—

*The Seven Modes or Species.*

<i>Mediaeval System.</i>					<i>Greek System.</i>				
Hypodorian	.	.	.	a	A	.	.	.	Hypodorian.
Mixolydian	.	.	.	G	B	.	.	.	Mixolydian.
Lydian	.	.	.	F	C	.	.	.	Lydian.
Phrygian	.	.	.	E	D	.	.	.	Phrygian.
Dorian	.	.	.	D	E	.	.	.	Dorian.
Hypolydian	.	.	.	C	F	.	.	.	Hypolydian.
Hypophrygian	.	.	.	B	G	.	.	.	Hypophrygian or Iastian.
Hypodorian	.	.	.	A	a	.	.	.	Hypodorian or Aeolian.

The proper (Greek) order is Hypodorian, upper, or small, a; Hypophrygian, G immediately below; Hypolydian, F immediately below; and so on. The Mediaeval order begins the same series *upon the wrong note*, and gives Hypodorian upon the low, or great, A; Hypophrygian on the B immediately *above*, Hypolydian on C above; and so on.

times, by the learned composers of written discant, is evident from the examples of the various polyphonic forms already given in the present work—where, indeed, the only failure to observe modal propriety is seen in those cases in which a part only of an antiphon is given, and consequently the true final of the mode remains unknown. And in fact the composer, with the parchment before him, need never be in doubt, either with regard to his modulations, as the notes upon which closes might occur were called, or to the limits of his scale, since he may at any moment pause in his work to consider his position. But it is easy to see, on the other hand, that in the hurry of extempore composition, in which the chief proof of skill was a constant breaking and floreatation of the notes, the bounds of the modal scale must often have been exceeded, and that the rules for closing, even—rules which preserved the contrapuntal form of the modulations—must have been sometimes disobeyed. The prevailing character, therefore, of the extempore discant melody must, not unfrequently, have appeared as altogether vague and unmodal ; and this must have been, in the opinion of the clergy, an intolerable defect, since it became no longer possible in such cases to recognize, in the performance as a whole, the character proper to the plainsong subject.

It is now obvious that, as a consequence of the introduction of discant into the divine service, a situation of considerable difficulty, naturally arising from the opposition of conflicting ideals, must have been created and gradually developed in the church. On the one hand was the great and powerful body of the clergy, endeavouring by all means to preserve intact in public worship that elementary expression of the congregational spirit which is contained in the music of the church, and requiring, with instinctive propriety, as a fundamental condition of festal enrichment, that all embellishment of the ecclesiastical melodies by means of added voices should be similar in character, at least,



to the special character of the melodies themselves ; on the other hand were the composers and discantors, at first of one mind with the clergy, but later becoming by degrees more and more preoccupied by the artistic problem, and employing more and more in their enrichments of the service material essentially different in character from plainsong, yet thus advancing by these methods of their own, and by the technical improvements which from time to time suggested themselves, the development of the capacities and capabilities of the naturally progressive kind of music.

The dissatisfaction aroused in the minds of the clergy by the prevailing methods of the composers would seem to have reached its climax during the early years of the fourteenth century, and remonstrance and admonition having been already attempted, naturally in vain, and a decision having now been taken to adopt stronger measures, the Pope, John XXII, in the year 1322, issued, from Avignon, a decree absolutely forbidding the use of discant, even of the most elementary kind, in the church services in future. The language of this document is exceedingly concise <sup>1</sup>, but the sense is probably as follows :—

‘ Certain disciples of the new school, much occupying them-

<sup>1</sup> *Nonnulli novellae scholae discipuli, dum temporibus mensurandis invigilant, novis notis intendunt, fingere suas quam antiquas cantare malunt ; in semibreves et minimas ecclesiastica cantantur, notulis percutiuntur. Nam melodias hoquetis intersecant, discantibus lubricant, triplis et motetis vulgaribus nonnumquam inculcant ; adeo ut interdum antiphonarii et gradualis fundamenta despiciant, ignorent super quo aedificant ; tonos nesciant quos non discernunt, imo confundunt cum ex earum multitudine notarum, ascensiones pudicae descensionesque temperatae plani cantus, quibus toni ipsi cernuntur adinuicem, obfuscentur. Currunt enim et non quiescunt, aures inebriant et non medentur, gestis simulant quod depro-munt ; quibus devotio quaerenda contemnitur, vitanda lascivia propagatur.*

*Hoc ideo dudum, nos et fratres nostri correctionis indigere percepimus ; hoc relegare, imo potius abiicere, et ab eadem ecclesia Dei profligare efficacius properamus. Quocirca de ipsorum fratrum consilio districte praecepimus, ut nullus deinceps talia, vel his similia, in dictis officiis, praesertim horis canonicis, vel cum missarum solemnia celebrantur, attentare praesumat. Si*



selves with the measured dividing of the *tempora*, display their prolation in notes which are new to us, preferring to devise methods of their own rather than to continue singing in the old way; the music therefore of the divine offices is now performed with semibreves and minims, and with these notes of small value every composition is pestered. Moreover, they truncate the melodies with hoquets, they deprave them with discants, sometimes even they stuff them with upper parts (*tripilis et motetis*) made out of secular songs. So that often they must be losing sight of the fundamental sources of our melodies in the Antiphoner and Gradual, and may thus forget what that is upon which their superstructure is raised. They may become entirely ignorant concerning the ecclesiastical Tones, which they already no longer distinguish, and the limits of which they even confound, since, in the multitude of their notes, the modest risings and temperate descents of the plainsong, by which the scales themselves are to be known one from another, must be entirely obscured. Their voices are incessantly running to and fro, intoxicating the ear, not soothing it, while the men themselves endeavour to convey by their gestures the sentiment of the music which they utter. As a consequence of all this, devotion, the true end of worship, is little thought of, and wantonness, which ought to be eschewed, increases.

quis vero contrafecerit, per Ordinarios locorum ubi ista commissa fuerint, vel deputandos ab eis, in non exemptis, in exemptis vero per Praepositos vel Praelatos suos, ad quos alios correctio et punitio culparum, et excessuum huiusmodi vel similium, pertinere dignoscitur, vel deputandos ab eisdem, per suspensionem ab officio per octo dies auctoritate huius canonis puniatur.

Per hoc autem non intendimus prohibere, quin interdum, diebus festis praecipue, sive solemnibus in missis, et praefatis divinis officiis, aliquae consonantiae quae melodiam sapiunt, puta octavae, quintae, quartae, et huiusmodi supra cantum ecclesiasticum simplicem proferantur. Sic tamen ut ipsius cantus integritas illibata permaneat, et nihil ex hoc de bene morata musica immutetur. Maxime cum huiusmodi consonantiae auditum demulceant, devotionem provocent, et psallentium Deo animos torpere non sinant.

*Extravag. comm. lib. 3, tit. 1, cap. unic. De vita et honest. clericor.*

‘ This state of things, hitherto the common one, we and our brethren have regarded as standing in need of correction ; and we now hasten therefore to banish those methods, nay rather to cast them entirely away, and to put them to flight more effectually than heretofore, far from the house of God. Wherefore, having taken counsel with our brethren, we straitly command that no one henceforward shall think himself at liberty to attempt those methods, or methods like them, in the aforesaid Offices, and especially in the canonical Hours, or in the solemn celebrations of the Mass.

‘ And if any be disobedient, let him, on the authority of this Canon, be punished by a suspension from office of eight days ; either by the Ordinary of the diocese in which the forbidden things are done or by his deputies in places not exempt from episcopal authority, or, in places which are exempt, by such of their offices as are usually considered responsible for the correction of irregularities and excesses, and such like matters.

‘ Yet, for all this, it is not our intention to forbid, occasionally—and especially upon feast days or in the solemn celebrations of the Mass and in the aforesaid divine offices—the use of some consonances, for example the eighth, fifth, and fourth, which heighten the beauty of the melody ; such intervals therefore may be sung above the plain *cantus ecclesiasticus*, yet so that the integrity of the *cantus* itself may remain intact, and that nothing in the authoritative music be changed. Used in such sort the consonances would much more than by any other method both soothe the hearer and arouse his devotion, and also would not destroy religious feeling in the minds of the singers.’

This document, sufficiently remarkable in itself, derives additional weight from the great age of its author, who being eighty-two years old at the time of its issue may be thought to have been well acquainted with the course of florid discant, from the great Franconian period onwards. But though the decree is generally

referred to, and sometimes partially quoted, by historians, its real importance, consisting in the effect which it produced upon the conduct of divine service, and in some respects upon the general course of music itself, is not indicated, and would seem to have escaped observation. Yet there can be little doubt that, as regards its immediate effect, the orders contained in it were punctually and even gladly carried out by the clergy, and that for a considerable period of time florid discant was banished, as completely as the Pope intended, from the church. In 1408, for instance, in the Cathedral of Notre-Dame in Paris, of old the home of the first and greatest school of discant, it was still forbidden, notwithstanding that eighty-six years had then elapsed since the publication of the Pope's edict.

Our information upon this point is derived incidentally from a code of rules for the government of the *Maîtrise*, or choir school, of Notre-Dame, drawn up in the year just mentioned, by Jean Charlier<sup>1</sup>, canon and chancellor of the Cathedral. The rule in question is as follows :—

‘Furthermore let a master, at appointed hours, teach the children singing ; plainsong chiefly, but also counterpoint and certain seemly discants ; not dissolute and immodest *cantilenæ*, nor let him dwell upon these musical matters to the hindrance of their progress in grammar. And let him be very specially attentive to this, inasmuch as in our own church discant is not in use, being prohibited by statute, at least as regards the voices called *mutatae* <sup>2</sup>.’ In the treatises of this period the *voces mutatae* are the men of the choir, the *voces non mutatae* the boys ; we

<sup>1</sup> Better known perhaps as *Gerson* from his birthplace.

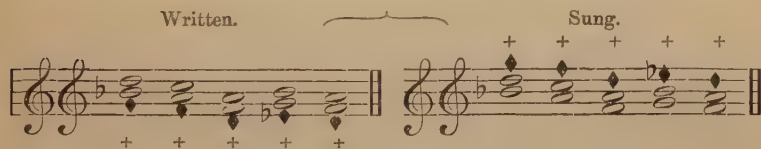
<sup>2</sup> Porro magister cantus statutis horis doceat pueros. Planum cantum principaliter, et contrapunctum, et aliquos discantus honestos ; non cantilenas dissolutas, impudicasque, nec faciant eos tantum insistere in talibus, quod perdant in grammatica profectum. Attento maxime, quod in Ecclesia nostra discantus non est in usu, sed per statuta prohibitus, saltem quoad voces quae mutatae dicuntur.—F. L. Chartier, *L'Ancien Chapitre de Notre-Dame de Paris* [Paris, 1897], pp. 67–8.

see, therefore, from the language employed in this passage, that while the men were evidently not trusted, but were still bound by a statute embodying the Pope's commands, the boys might safely, and without fear of possible licences, be taught to sing a counterpoint upon the plainsong, generally note against note, sometimes perhaps less plain, but always apparently written, and according to rule ; but it is evident that this practice formed no special feature of the divine service.

The conditions which we here see prevailing in Notre Dame at the beginning of the fifteenth century—conditions which we may probably imagine as existing at that time in most of the French cathedrals—must certainly, notwithstanding their narrow limits, have been less rigid than those which obtained at periods nearer to the date of the edict ; for we must naturally suppose that as regards the accompaniment of plainsong, at least, the provisions of the injunction of 1322 were strictly enforced within the range of the Pope's influence during his life, which was prolonged until 1334. But some attempt to break through the imposed restrictions, to regain some measure, at any rate, of freedom, was sooner or later inevitable ; and in fact, within a short time probably after the Pope's death, at some period, as we may suppose, when though the vigilance of the authorities might be somewhat relaxed flat disobedience would still be dangerous, a method of embellishment, based upon an artifice of the most ingenious and subtle kind, seems to have been devised by singers in order to escape from the strict observance of the edict while still appearing to conform to it. This method was of French origin, and having apparently no Latin name was called, even by learned writers, in the descriptive vernacular, *Faulx bourdon*, False bass. It consists, when written, in a simple two-part *organum* at the fifth, in which an additional voice is inserted at an equal distance from each of the first two—as a third, that is to say, to both. The position of this third part, which, according



to the old rule, should have been a reduplication at the octave of one of the existing voices, was indeed an innovation, but an innovation difficult to criticize, since the parallel fifths still played apparently the most prominent part, and the Pope's injunction therefore might seem to have been obeyed. The true nature, however, of the device, and its real purpose, was revealed in the vocal execution of this irregular organum. Of the three singers standing before the book, those who were chosen for the two upper parts, being suitable in voice to the task allotted to them, sang their notes in the ordinary manner, as they were written; but the remaining performer, chosen for the apparent *bourdon* or lowest voice—the singer of the *cantus firmus*, in fact—possessed actually the highest voice, and he therefore transposed the plain-song at sight to the octave above, and so sang it throughout. In other words, the organum, as sung, was composed, and was intended to be composed, of sixths and thirds; and since this form was not conceded by the Pope's edict, the highest part was written in the choir books an octave below its true pitch, as a *false bass*, in order to create an appearance of obedience, thus:—



The sentences or sections of *faulx bourdon* ended, as in all other forms of composition in parts, with perfect concords. In our example therefore of the method as sung the upper voice should take F for the last note, and the voice next below should take C. Sentences might also begin in the same way, but this was not thought to be absolutely necessary.

The general effect of *faulx bourdon*, though far less bare than that of the old organum of parallel perfect concords, is still somewhat mechanical and barbaric, yet upon the whole superior to



that of the contemporary studied composition in mixed intervals ; thus the method found at first great favour, not only in France and England, but also in Italy—where probably it was first brought in the year 1377, by the singers of the Pope's Chapel returning from Avignon ; and in all the countries of its adoption it would seem to have become especially popular as the accompaniment of the liturgical hymns and of the chants of the Psalter. Moreover, everywhere the disguise from which it derived its name was eventually abandoned, and the notes at last, when written, were written as sung.

It will not have escaped remark that our account of the actual origin of *faulx bourdon* in a subtle evasion of plain directions is hypothetical in character, and is not supported by reference to contemporary treatises ; but we possess in fact no account of the method which can be thought to be contemporary with its first use, nor indeed, if its invention may be supposed to have been due to the motive which has now been suggested, is it probable that any description could appear until the device itself had become openly tolerated. With respect, however, to the date of the actual invention of the method, this may perhaps be supposed practically to coincide with the later years of the papal reign at Avignon, ending in 1377, since in no treatise written before that date is any notice of *faulx bourdon* to be found, while on the other hand, soon after the return of the court to Rome, mention of it is frequent as a method in more or less common use throughout Europe. That it was firmly established in the Papal Chapel during the latter half of the fourteenth century is clear from the testimony of Baini, maestro di cappella at the beginning of the last century, who says that although the books from which it was still sung in his day dated only from the pontificate of Leo X, he himself had found, in the archives of the Chapel, the remains of a former set, worn and soiled from long use, and written and noted in a hand undoubtedly of the fourteenth

FAULX BOURDON AS SUNG.  
*Organum of Sixths and Thirds.*

[Cantus.]

De - us cre - a - tor om - ni - um,

[De - us cre - a - tor om - ni - um,

[De - us cre - a - tor om - ni - um,

Po - li - que rec - tor, ves - ti - ens.

Po - li - que rec - tor, ves - ti - ens

Po - li - que rec - tor, ves - ti - ens

Di - em de - co - ro lu - mi - ne,

Di - em de - co - ro lu - mi - ne,

Di - em de - co - ro lu - mi - ne,

Noc - tem so - po - ris gra - ti - a.

Noc - tem so - po - ris gra - ti - a.]

Noc - tem so - po - ris gra - ti - a.]

century <sup>1</sup>. And although it may perhaps be thought somewhat remarkable that a device invented in order to evade a papal edict of 1322 should, in 1377, have been already adopted by the Chapel, we have to remember that five popes had reigned in Avignon since the death of John XXII, and that at any time during their successive pontificates the severity of the injunction may have been relaxed in favour of a method so harmless, both in itself and in its apparent tendency, as *faulx bourdon*.

The circumstances relating to the reign of *faulx bourdon* have been in modern times the subject of investigation by two distinguished writers upon music, Dr. Guido Adler and Professor Hugo Riemann; and it must be confessed that the hypothesis, with respect to the origin of the method, which is put forward by them, differs widely from that which has commended itself to the present writer. Pursuing the line of argument originating with Dr. Adler and adopted by Professor Riemann—already discussed in the present work (pp. 91–94)—namely, that a kind of organizing in thirds and sixths formed the substance of the extempore popular music of England at least as early as the eleventh century, they regard *faulx bourdon* as the native methodic embodiment of this music, adopted eventually by the ecclesiastical singers of the fourteenth century in France and Italy, for its own sake; and it is thus to be considered as one of the chief agents in the breaking down of the ramparts of exclusive tradition, and in the forcible entry of popular unlearned methods into the region of authoritative practice.

We have already stated, at the place just mentioned above, our objections to the general supposition that English singers

<sup>1</sup> 'Questa maniera di falsobordone si è sempre usata costantemente da tempo immemorabile fino al giorno d' oggi nella nostra cappella. Li libri sui quali noi presentemente li cantiamo, e sui quali gli han cantati i nostri predecessori, sono scritti sotto Leone X; ed io ne ho veduti nel nostro archivio alcuni fogli laceri dal tempo e dall' uso, di carattere senza dubbio del secolo xiv<sup>o</sup>.' *Memorie . . . di G. P. da Palestrina*, Roma, 1828, vol. i, p. 258, note.

were specially addicted, before the fourteenth century, to methods of organizing in thirds and sixths—objections based chiefly upon the complete silence, with respect to any such methods, of three of the greatest authorities of the thirteenth century, specially well informed with respect to English music—and while entirely maintaining these objections we may now add another, which refers more particularly to the view of *faulx bourdon* merely as the native methodic embodiment of this supposed popular manner of organizing; and this objection is founded upon the equivocal form of its written presentation in the fourteenth century. For of what conceivable use, it may be asked, can this be when a plain statement is all that is required, or why should a deceptive form have been employed if deception was not called for?

The name also of the method creates a difficulty; for if the method itself is of old English extraction, having its roots in immemorial popular practice, why is the only name that it has ever, so far as we know, possessed in this country—*Faburden*—a mere corruption of the French name adopted in the fourteenth century? Nothing seems to have been as yet suggested which can afford an answer to these questions.

But it is further held by the writers just mentioned that not only *faulx bourdon*, but all the English methods of composition, in the fourteenth century, were directly derived by degrees from the supposed old popular organum in the intervals of the third and sixth. And this view arises chiefly from the consideration of a treatise by one Guilelmus Monachus, of uncertain date, now preserved in the library of St. Mark's at Venice<sup>1</sup>, in which the specially English methods of composition, as they existed in the writer's time, are described at some length; and these methods are seen as differing considerably from the contemporary practice of other countries, and are found to consist largely in the

<sup>1</sup> Printed by Coussemaker, *Script.* iii. 273.

use of parallel thirds and sixths in two of the parts, more or less disguised by a free movement in the remaining voices. This technique, it is assumed, must have been of slow growth, dating presumably from a period long antecedent to the fourteenth century, and thus connected closely with the supposed ancient organum.

We shall ourselves presently examine the work of Guilelmus Monachus, so far as it may be said to relate to our present subject, but meanwhile it may be pointed out that the effect of these various novel suppositions with regard to the origin and progress of English music, is to separate its development, from the very beginning, from that of the music of France and Italy, for instance, and to inculcate the belief that here, from the earliest times onwards to the period which we are now considering, music was never understood otherwise than as consisting in some form of *faulx bourdon*. It may be well therefore, before proceeding further, to subject these suppositions to a practical test, and to exhibit a few examples of English composition, popular in character, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; for if the views which we are now examining be correct, we ought to perceive the methods of *faulx bourdon* prevailing in all the specimens, both before and after the year 1340, the generally accepted date of its invention <sup>1</sup>.

And first it may be said that in the earliest example of English secular music—*Sumer is icumen in* <sup>2</sup>—dating from about 1240, the characteristic elements of *faulx bourdon* are entirely wanting, and that there is no sign whatever of any knowledge of the existence of such a method on the part of the composer. The same may be said of another work of similar date, and existing indeed in the same MS.—Brit. Mus., Harl. 978. This is a curious com-

<sup>1</sup> It is proper to mention here that, with the exception of *Sumer is icumen in*, practically no English composition of very early date had been published, in a translated form, when Dr. Adler and Prof. Riemann wrote upon this subject.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 177–90.



## THE FIRST DEVELOPMENT OF POLYPHONY 305

Cantus Superior.

Brit. Mus., Harley 978.

Cantus Inferior.

The first part of the musical notation consists of two measures. The first measure contains four notes: a quarter note, an eighth note, a quarter note, and a half note. The second measure contains a quarter note, an eighth note, a quarter note, and a half note. The notes are written on a five-line staff.

The first staff of music is a single line with a treble clef. It contains two measures of music. The first measure has a half note on G4, a quarter note on A4, and a quarter note on B4. The second measure has a quarter note on A4, a quarter note on G4, and a half note on F#4. The notes are all on the upper half of the staff.

The second staff of music continues the melody. It begins with a half note G4, followed by a quarter note A4, a quarter note B4, and a half note C5. This is followed by a quarter note B4, a quarter note A4, and a half note G4. The staff concludes with a double bar line.

[illegible]

The first system of musical notation for 'The Bird Song' consists of a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody is written in a simple, folk-like style. It begins with a quarter note on G4, followed by a quarter note on A4, and then a quarter note on B4. This is followed by a half note on A4, then a quarter note on G4, and a quarter note on F#4. The melody then moves down to a half note on E4, followed by a quarter note on D4, and a quarter note on C4. The system ends with a quarter note on B3, followed by a quarter note on A3, and a quarter note on G3. The notation is simple and clear, with no complex ornaments or decorations.

position, in two parts only, and without words, which might possibly be intended for instruments: it is divided into two movements, one containing six and the other nine strains, and each strain is divided again into two sections of eight perfect longs each, or their equivalent. It is full of repetition, which, though ingeniously arranged, must have exercised a somewhat soporific influence upon the hearers, unless dancing accompanied it, which may very well have been the case. Three strains, which constitute the first half of the first movement, will be sufficient to give an idea of this music, which also, it will be seen, would appear, as has been said, to have been written in ignorance of any method based upon parallelism of thirds and sixths, and in fact rather displays, as we have just seen in the case of *Sumer is icumen in*, characteristics directly opposed to those of *faulx bourdon*, namely, a constant use of perfect concords and of contrary movement.

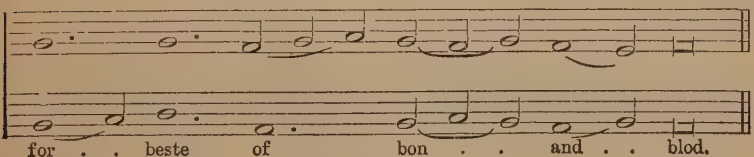
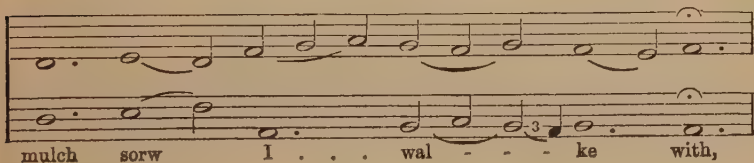
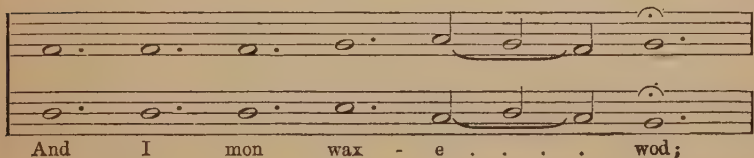
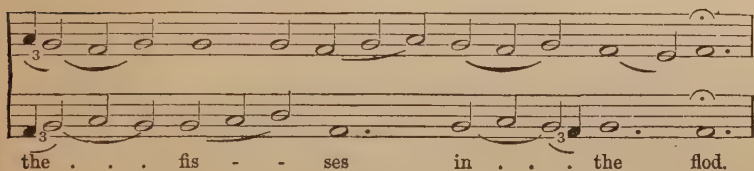
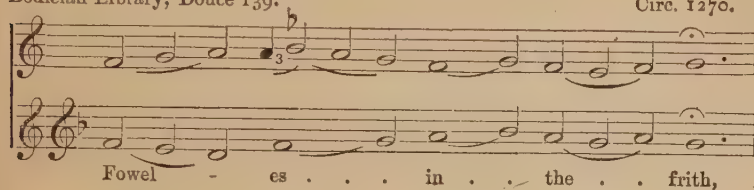
In our next example, however, the extremely interesting and original little two-part song, *Foweles in the Frith*, written probably about 1270, we find, if our translation is correct, at the end of the first section five sixths in direct succession, and at the end of the third section two more. This composition is remarkable throughout for the freedom of its treatment, and for the evidence that it displays of the writer's complete mastery of the limited resources of his time. Like *Sumer is icumen in*, though of course not in the same degree, the work expresses a musical thought, which has been so imagined as to reveal the existence of unsuspected possibilities in the hard material of the thirteenth-century forms.

From this little specimen of independent imagination we pass to the somewhat mechanical style of composition shown in our example of simple *conductus* of about the year 1300, given from the Arundel MS. numbered 248, at p. 168 of the present work; and from a reference to that example it will

FOWELES IN THE FRITH<sup>1</sup>.

Bodleian Library, Douce 139.

Circ. 1270.



<sup>1</sup> This has been reproduced, from the original, in *Early English Harmony*, and also, with a translation, in Sir John Stainer's *Early Bodleian Music*.

be seen that the contrary movement is there continuous and systematic, and affords no possible opportunity for the intrusion of parallel intervals. Another composition, of exactly the same kind—perhaps indeed by the author of the former one—occurs in the same MS. It contains many verses, with a fresh melody and discant for each verse of six lines; but as the methods are identical throughout, the first verse and the beginning of the second, only, are here given :

## IESU CRISTES MILDE MODER

Brit. Mus., Arundel 248.

Ciro, 1300.

I. Ie - su . . Cris - tes mild - e mo - der  
The sone . . heng the mo - der stud, . .

stud bi - held hire son o rod - e . . .  
and bi - held hire child - es blud . . .

that he was i - pi - ned . . . on.  
wu it of his wund - - es ran.

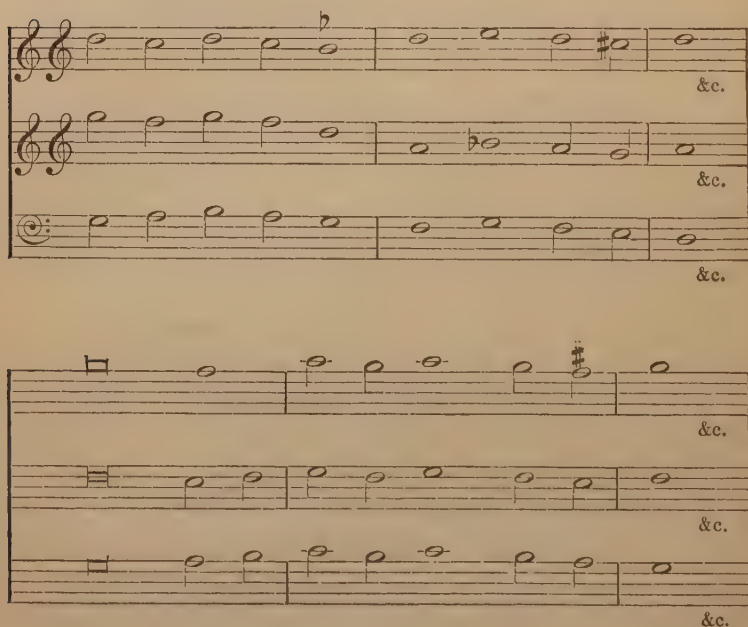
2. Tho he starf that king is . . of lif, } &c.

It would appear then that, with one possible exception, our representative examples of English music of a popular character composed before the generally accepted date of *faulx bourdon*, cannot be thought to reveal traces of any existing method of singing in parallel thirds and sixths. The method indeed which is employed in them is that which is indicated by the contemporary treatises, namely, contrary movement and a guarded use of the imperfect intervals, which are to be taken only occasionally in direct succession. As regards our single exception, it may be explained perhaps by the free and experimental character of the composition itself; and remembering that sixths and thirds were, in 1270, newly admitted among the consonant intervals, we may perhaps see, in the appearance here of sixths in parallel movement, an attempt to employ these intervals in a new and interesting manner. But be this as it may, it is certain that, so far as the present writer has been able to discover, the two passages of consecutive sixths which appear in *Foweles in the Frith* stand absolutely alone in the English music of the period; and it is difficult to suppose that this could be the case if they were merely adopted from an existing traditional practice, of great popularity, and in common use.

Examples of composition during the first half of the fourteenth century are unfortunately as rare, apparently, in England as in France and Italy, so that it is impossible to say exactly what methods may have prevailed in this country during the period which, as is generally supposed, saw the invention of *faulx bourdon* and its adaptation to the purposes of free composition. But examples of later date are to be found, and from these it would seem that towards the close of the century the characteristic progressions of *faulx bourdon* formed an accepted feature of the English method. They are used, moreover, with excellent judgment; not frequently, or as part of the ordinary conduct of the work, but as an embellishment, and confined, in the best examples



at least, entirely to the closes ; and here they create a great effect, and a quality of beauty not hitherto produced in music. This appears clearly, for instance, in a motett, *Petrum Cephæ ecclesie*—written during the last quarter of the century, and now in the Bodleian Library<sup>1</sup>—where the sentences sometimes conclude in the following manner :



In another motett also, *Deus creator omnium*, in the same MS., several interesting examples of parallel progression occur ; amongst them is an early example of the device known as *gymel*, consisting of consecutive thirds, generally sung without the accompaniment of a third voice.

But perhaps the most interesting example that we possess of the appearance of the *faulx bourdon* methods, in the English

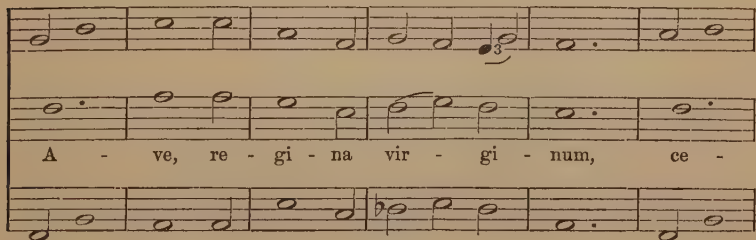
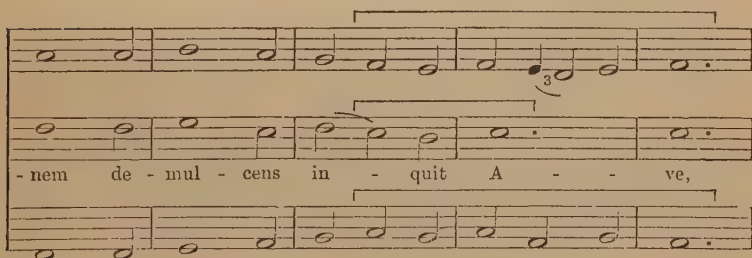
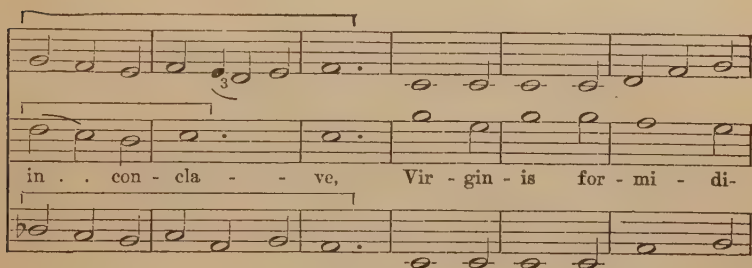
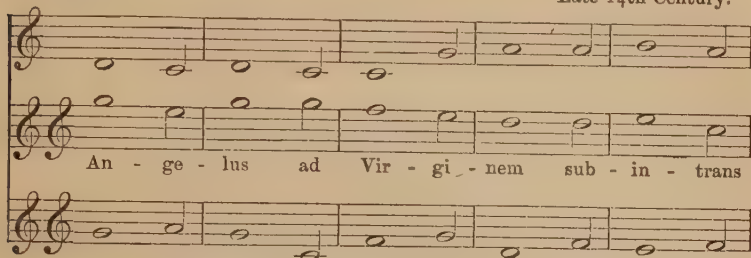
<sup>1</sup> MS. E. Mus. 7. Reproduced, with translation, in *Early Bodleian Music*.

## ANGELUS AD VIRGINEM.

Cambridge Univ. Library.

Add. MS. 710.

Late 14th Century.



- li ter - re - que do - mi - num - con - -

- ci - pi - es et pa - ri - es . . in - tac - - - ta sa -

- lu - tem ho - mi - num; tu . . por - ta

ce - li fac - - ta, me - de - la cri - mi - num.

music of this period, is supplied by a three-part setting of the famous hymn *Angelus ad Virginem*<sup>1</sup>, composed quite at the end of the century. Here the contrast between the new processes, shown in all passages which approach a close, and the old methods still adopted in the rest of the work, is extremely striking. The hymn is given on p. 311.

May we not now say that supposing our examples to be really representative, we are directed by the appearances towards a judgement unfavourable to the supposition of a specially English origin for the methods of *faulx bourdon*, considered as part of a traditional popular system existing from time immemorial in this country? Indeed, but for the parallel sixths in the little two-part song, *Foweles in the Frith*, we might declare our belief that the evidence is conclusive in this sense. And even allowing full importance to this exception, we may still say that the English, speaking generally, were, before the middle of the fourteenth century, as far from being aware of any such methods as the French and Italians themselves, and that it is only as we approach the year 1400 that frequent passages of parallel thirds and sixths, appearing in all compositions, show that the musicians of this country had become acquainted with the device and were able to utilize it.

That the English were formerly, at all times, especially inclined towards sweetness and jocundity in music is undoubted; and although we may not hastily take away from the French singers of the fourteenth century the credit of the first systematic organizing in sixths and thirds, we may nevertheless suppose that while its inventors remained content to apply the method within the

<sup>1</sup> The hymn has been rendered famous by Chaucer's reference to it in the *Miller's Tale*, where it is mentioned as forming part of the repertory of the Oxford scholar. The version of the tune given in this setting is inferior to that which occurs in the British Museum MS., Arundel 248, where it appears as a plain melody for one voice only.

limits of its original purpose, the English, on the other hand, perceiving something of its possibilities, not only welcomed it with peculiar delight, but also rapidly reformed their general practice in order to include it.

The influence exercised by *faulx bourdon* upon composition in England, as it may be seen in the written music of the time, has been sufficiently demonstrated for the present in the examples just given ; its effect upon the contemporary florid discant *supra librum*, which was even more remarkable, should now be considered.

And first, for purposes of comparison, we may give some account of the ordinary method of discant *supra librum*, common throughout Europe at this time.

The typical form implies three voices, tenor, contratenor, and supranus, but the actual number of singers was practically unlimited. The performers, few or many, having come together before the book containing the *cantus ecclesiasticus*, the tenor sounds the first note of the plainsong, and to this the contratenor replies with the fifth above, and the supranus with the octave ; and thus is established for each his natural 'sight,' or distance from the plainsong. The tenor then proceeds with the plainsong, beating each note steadily as a breve ; the contratenor, watching the plainsong and having regard also to the beat, accompanies in strict counterpoint—with perfect concords, that is to say, in contrary movement almost entirely, and in breves, note against note with the tenor—keeping carefully within his range, which is from a fourth above to a fifth below his initial note, and ending at last, as he began, upon the fifth above the final note of the tenor. This process, it will be seen, is little more, so far, than a direct continuation of the old eleventh-century practice, and even the method employed by the upper voice, which extemporizes a florid song, must seem not unfamiliar to us ; yet although in considering the apparently free course pursued



by the supranus, we may be reminded of that which we perceived in the upper voice of *organum purum*, there is here in reality a great difference ; the old freedom no longer prevails, and the part is now actually entirely controlled by the tenor, for the florid song in which it consists is but a breaking of the measured breve. In fact, the supranus, like the contratenor, watches the plainsong, and although within the breve he is free to display every variety of prolation, simple or syncopated, that he may be able to devise, his *cantus* is really founded, equally with that of the contratenor, upon successive notes of plain counterpoint. It is true that these are, in his part, practically lost in the wealth of their own ornamentation, yet it is with their sounds nevertheless that the portion of his florid song which is contained within the strict time of the breve must begin and end ; in other words, the first and last of the notes contained in any ' bar ' of the supranus must give the sound of the breve which he would have sung in plain counterpoint to the tenor ; moreover, all prominent notes of the florid song, within the ' bar,' must be concordant to the tenor. The same principles governed the two-part discant, in which the floreation was employed in the upper part, and also that in four parts, where a voice was added in the twelfth above the tenor.

Such then being the method of discant extemporized *supra librum*, its adoption in principle throughout musical Europe, from the time of the recovery of the duple measure until the end of the sixteenth century, must always remain one of the most curious and least explicable circumstances connected with the history of the art ; for if we consider the fact that any number of singers could join in the performance, and also that in this kind of music the movement of the tenor can alone be foreseen, it is evident that although each of the voices may be entirely irreproachable throughout in its relation to the tenor, yet among themselves consecutive perfect intervals, or the discord arising

from a fifth and sixth to the tenor taken simultaneously, may arise at any moment <sup>1</sup>.

The first development, probably, of *faulx bourdon* in discant *supra librum*, is to be seen in a simple alteration of the upper or florid part in the method just described, consisting in the substitution of imperfect for perfect consonances with the tenor. An account of this early method is given by the English theorist

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Morley, writing in 1597, says :—‘ As for singing upon a plain-song, it hath been in times past in England (as every man knoweth), and is at this day in other places, the greatest part of the usual music which in any churches is sung. Which indeed causeth me to marvel how men acquainted with music, can delight to hear such confusion as of force must be amongst so many singing extempore. But some have stood in an opinion which to me seemeth not very probable, that is, that men accustomed to discanting will sing together upon a plainsong, without singing either false chords or a forbidden discant one to another : which till I see I will ever think impossible. For though they should all be most excellent men, and every one of their lessons by itself never so well framed for the ground, yet it is impossible for them to be true one to another, except one man should cause all the rest to sing the same which he sung before them : and so indeed (if he have studied the Canon beforehand) they shall agree without errors : else shall they never do it.’ *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music*, London, 1597.

Morley, of course, treats the matter with a severity which could offend nobody, since this way of singing was in his time in England out of use ; but from the manner in which the practice is referred to by Tinctoris, writing in 1477 among musicians with whom it was common, we may see not only that the *contrapunctus supra librum* was regarded by the learned with considerable indulgence, but also that certain methods existed, by means of which the singers were able to create an appearance of regularity. ‘ Counterpoint,’ says Tinctoris, ‘ whether plain or florid, is of two kinds ; written or mental. Written counterpoint is commonly called *res facta*, but that which is mentally composed we call *counterpoint* absolutely, and those who make it are said to sing *supra librum*. In one respect *res facta* differs very considerably from counterpoint ; and that is, that in *res facta* all the parts, whether three or four or more, are mutually considerate, so that in every part the rules of the progression of the concords have to be observed towards each and all of the rest. . . . But among two, or three, or more, singing *supra librum*, there is no mutual consideration, and it is thought to be enough if each obey the rules of consonance with respect to the tenor alone ; yet I hold it not blameworthy, but rather a thing to be commended, if the singers should contrive to give an appearance of rightly taking the concords among themselves ;

Simon Tunstede, in his treatise *Quatuor Principalia*<sup>1</sup>, which dates from the close of the fourteenth century. His description is as follows:—‘There is another way of discanting which indeed, if it be well carried out, will seem to the hearer exceedingly recondite, while in fact it is the least difficult of all. For in this method many will appear to be discanting upon the plainsong, when in truth one only will discant, the rest meanwhile singing the plainsong itself in different concords, in the following manner. Let there be brought together four or five men expert in singing, and let the first begin the plainsong in the tenor; let the second settle his voice in the fifth above, the third in the octave, and the fourth, if there be a fourth, in the twelfth. Then all, being fixed in their respective situations, will continue with the plainsong, but all except the tenor should break and flower the notes, as may be most convenient, carefully preserving the measure. But let him who is to discant,’—we may perhaps suppose a fifth and highest voice,—‘avoid as much as possible the perfect concords, keeping his part in the imperfect intervals, that is to say in thirds, sixths, and tenths above the tenor; and with these let him discourse, ascending and descending, according as it may seem to him expedient and most agreeable to the hearer. Thus one man, expert in discant and having a well-trained voice, may, with others of equal aptitude, make great melody.’

The value of this account in our present point of view consists in its record of the admission, in England, before the year 1400, of a free or broken *faulx bourdon* into the old system of extempore discant; but the innovation has no effect in reducing the objections urged against the original method; indeed, it now itself constantly creates the discord of the sixth and fifth with the voice immediately above the tenor, while the general danger

for in this way they may render their performance much fuller and sweeter in effect.’ *De Arte Contrapuncti*; *Cousse. Script.* iv. 129–30.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* iv. 200.

of consecutive perfect intervals is also, from the breaking and floreating of all notes except the tenor, even greater than before.

In the more fully developed English method of free *faulx bourdon*, however, described by another writer of considerable importance—Guilelmus Monachus—in which, for perfect concords and contrary movement in the counterpoint and imperfect concords in the discant, are substituted imperfect concords in similar movement with the tenor in all the parts, these errors and possibilities of error are avoided. And this will appear from the examples contained in the treatise of the author just mentioned, presently to be given.

Guilelmus Monachus, whose only known work, now to be considered, is in the *Biblioteca Marciana* at Venice, was in all probability an Englishman resident among Italians, for whose information, we may suppose, he included in his treatise a special account of the English practice of discanting extempore in *faulx bourdon*<sup>1</sup>. And we arrive at this conclusion from a consideration of those very words of the author himself which led M. de Coussemaker to suppose that he was an Italian. Guilelmus, in entering, in the chapter *De Regule Contrapuncti Anglicorum*, upon his account of the specially English discant, gives first the plain *faulx bourdon* in sixths and thirds, as we have already shown it (p. 301), together with the plain *gymel* or two-part variety in thirds alone, and short rules for both, and then continues—‘But the method of this *faulx bourdon* could be taken among us in other ways,’ &c.<sup>2</sup>;—and in this manner he introduces his numerous and valuable examples of that broken ornate counterpoint in imperfect con-

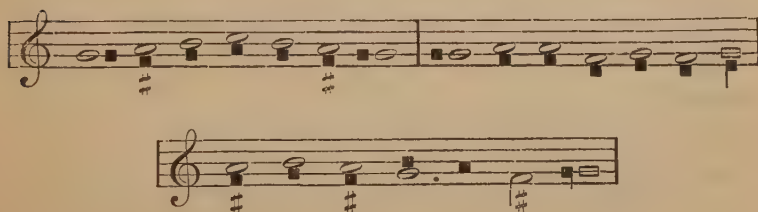
<sup>1</sup> There is nothing improbable in this supposition. The great contemporary English theorist, John Hothby, was about this time a member of the Carmelite brotherhood at Ferrara.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Modus autem istius *faulx bourdon* aliter posset assumi *apud nos*,’ &c. *Cousse. Script.* iii. 292.



cords and similar movement of which we have in fact no other complete account. Unless therefore we are to suppose that the author's description of the English practice is confined to the plain forms of *faulx bourdon* and *gymel*, and that the extension of these methods is Italian—which we have no reason for believing—the words ‘among us’ must refer to the English musicians, of whom Guilelmus thus declares himself to be one, rather than to the Italians among whom he was presumably residing.

Passing to the examples themselves, we may leave aside that of *faulx bourdon*, already given, and proceed to exhibit shortly the method of *gymel*. To this we have already referred (p. 310), but we may now give the example offered by Guilelmus, from which we see that the crossing of parts is included in the process, for the sake of variety :



If we may judge from the relatively infrequent mention of this form in the treatise of Guilelmus, and the absolute silence respecting it in every other work, it would appear that *gymel* was of small importance as compared with *faulx bourdon*. Yet it was probably derived from the more celebrated method, for *gymel*, in fact, is but *faulx bourdon*, as written, with the upper fifth, or contratenor note, left out ; and this, and the fact that it could be so sung, without inversion, may perhaps be accepted as evidence of its comparatively later date ; for both its renunciation of the fifth—the note which gave to the original method of *faulx bourdon*, when written, the appearance of an orthodox



organum—and the fact that the remaining thirds though capable of inversion could also be sung without it, would seem to indicate that at the time of its invention the necessity for dissimulation was already past. In the particular kind of *faulx bourdon*, on the other hand, which was contemporary with *gymel*, we find that although the fifth had also, and probably for the same reasons, been entirely abolished, the original process of inversion was still by common consent superstitiously continued in the production of the sixths, which now alone constituted the plain *faulx bourdon*. With respect to the proper method of producing these, however, opinions were divided; Guilelmus recommending apparently the transposition of the plainsong to the octave above, as in our illustration A (2), while his contemporary, Leonel Power—whose little vernacular treatise in the British Museum MSS., Lansdowne 763, has been printed by Sir John Hawkins in his *History*, and by Prof. Riemann, and also by others—prefers the transposition of the part above the plainsong to the octave below, as in B (2).

The thirds could be sung either as written (*Gymel*), 1, or transposed (*Faulx bourdon*), 2.



The former of these simple methods, A (2), supplies the framework of the first example of the broken or ornate discant given by Guilelmus, which here follows :

## FAULX BOURDON.

Coussemaker, *Scriptores*, &c., vol. iii. 293.

Guilelmus Monachus.

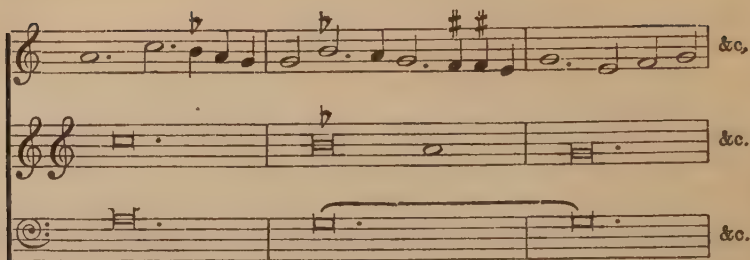
[Supranus.]

The musical score for 'Faulx Bourdon' is presented in three staves. The top staff is labeled '[Supranus.]' and uses a treble clef with a 6/8 time signature. The middle staff is labeled 'Tenor.' and also uses a treble clef with a 6/8 time signature. The bottom staff is labeled 'Cantus.' and uses a bass clef with a 6/8 time signature. The music is written in a medieval style, featuring a mix of whole, half, and quarter notes, with some rests and accidentals. The first system shows the beginning of the piece, with the Supranus and Tenor parts starting with a half note followed by a quarter note, and the Cantus part starting with a half note followed by a quarter note. The second system continues the melody, with the Supranus and Tenor parts moving in parallel motion and the Cantus part providing a harmonic foundation. The third system shows a change in the Cantus part, with a half note followed by a quarter note, and the Supranus and Tenor parts continuing their melodic lines.

The second system of the musical score for 'Faulx Bourdon' continues the melody. The Supranus and Tenor parts move in parallel motion, with the Supranus part starting with a half note followed by a quarter note, and the Tenor part starting with a half note followed by a quarter note. The Cantus part continues with a half note followed by a quarter note. The third system shows a change in the Cantus part, with a half note followed by a quarter note, and the Supranus and Tenor parts continuing their melodic lines.

The third system of the musical score for 'Faulx Bourdon' continues the melody. The Supranus and Tenor parts move in parallel motion, with the Supranus part starting with a half note followed by a quarter note, and the Tenor part starting with a half note followed by a quarter note. The Cantus part continues with a half note followed by a quarter note. The fourth system shows a change in the Cantus part, with a half note followed by a quarter note, and the Supranus and Tenor parts continuing their melodic lines.

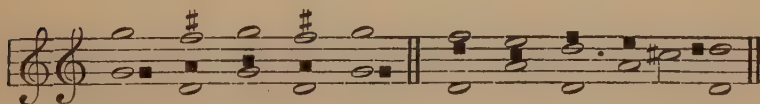
The fourth system of the musical score for 'Faulx Bourdon' continues the melody. The Supranus and Tenor parts move in parallel motion, with the Supranus part starting with a half note followed by a quarter note, and the Tenor part starting with a half note followed by a quarter note. The Cantus part continues with a half note followed by a quarter note. The fifth system shows a change in the Cantus part, with a half note followed by a quarter note, and the Supranus and Tenor parts continuing their melodic lines.



In this example *gymel* is represented by the middle and lower parts, and its inversion, *faulx bourdon*, by the upper and middle parts. The plainsong is shown both as simple in the lower part, and as transposed and freely broken in the supranus. In the latter situation, it is true, it is almost obliterated by the ornate method of treatment, but it may still be traced with certainty, nevertheless, in the first note of each bar of the florid song, which is always in the octave with the corresponding long note of the lower part. The middle or tenor part is only broken in minims in two bars ; its general mode of progression is by a breve followed by a semibreve in each bar, both as a rule in thirds with the plainsong, though the semibreve is occasionally free, as, for instance, in passing to unison with the plainsong in a close. It should, however, be said that considerable doubt exists with respect to the intention of the author in his presentation of the *cantus* in its unbroken form, in this and other examples ; and if, as some suppose, it is not intended for singing in this shape, but only as a guide to the reader, then the present example is nothing more than an ornate *faulx bourdon* of the later kind—that is to say, without the contratenor part.

The meagre effect of this, however, as compared with the original form of *faulx bourdon*, in which the contratenor proceeded throughout in the fourth below the supranus, probably suggested the desire for some enrichment of the method ; and

this object was attained, apparently, not as we might perhaps have supposed by a reinstatement of the old contratenor, which seems to have been henceforward excluded entirely from the English *faulx bourdon*, but by setting a new part in the old range of the written supranus, that is to say, a third below the tenor in the situation in fact occupied by the unbroken *cantus* in our example. But a certain difficulty attended the introduction of any parallel voice in this place, the difficulty which in fact gives rise to the objection of those who consider the unbroken *cantus* as not intended to be sung—namely, that its practical effect is the creation of forbidden intervals either with the tenor or with the vital notes of the highest voice ; probably therefore, in order to avoid this result, a device was adopted, which though simple enough in itself, contains nevertheless the obvious suggestion of an important principle, more perhaps than any other contributing to the formation of modern music—the harmonic bass. The author's instructions are as follows :—‘ The fourth rule (*contrapuncti Anglicorum*) is that if the *faulx bourdon* make its supranus with sixths and octaves to the tenor, you may make a *contratenor bassus* descending beneath the tenor with fifths and thirds ; so contriving that always the penultimate note be a fifth below the tenor—that is to say, a tenth below the supranus—and the antepenultimate a third below the tenor ; and so repeating and continuing with lower fifths and lower thirds, taking care that the first and last notes be an octave or unison to the tenor.’ The same principle can also, he says, be applied in the enrichment of *gyme*



In discanting upon a tenor not entirely conjunct it was not, of course, always possible to carry this system of alternate thirds and fifths in the lowest voice strictly through the whole of a performance, and from the following examples of its application we may gain some idea with respect to the various degrees of liberty allowed in difficult situations.

## GYMEL.

*Tribus Vocibus non mutatis.*

Coussemaker, *Scriptores*, &c., vol. iii. 289.  
Supranus.

Guilelmus Monachus.

The first system of musical notation consists of three staves. The top staff is labeled 'Supranus.' and contains a series of half notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, with a sharp sign above the final G. The middle staff is labeled '2dus Supranus.' and contains a series of half notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, with a sharp sign above the first A. The bottom staff is labeled 'Contratenor.' and contains a series of half notes: G4, F4, E4, D4, C4, B3, A3, with a flat sign below the first G.

The second system of musical notation consists of three staves. The top staff contains a series of half notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, with a flat sign below the first G. The middle staff contains a series of half notes: G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4, with a sharp sign above the first A. The bottom staff contains a series of half notes: G4, F4, E4, D4, C4, B3, A3, with a flat sign below the first G.



## GYMEL.

*With inverted passage \*, returning at the close.*Coussemaker, *Scriptores*, &c., vol. iii. 295.

Guilelmus Monachus.

Supranus.

2dus Supranus.

Contratenor bassus.

The musical score is written for three voices: Supranus, 2dus Supranus, and Contratenor bassus. The time signature is 6/3. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The score is divided into three systems. The first system shows the beginning of the piece. The second system includes an inverted passage marked with an asterisk (\*). The third system shows the conclusion of the piece.

**System 1:**

- Supranus: G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), B4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), G4 (quarter), F#4 (quarter).
- 2dus Supranus: G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), B4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), G4 (quarter), F#4 (quarter).
- Contratenor bassus: G3 (quarter), A3 (quarter), B3 (quarter), C4 (quarter), B3 (quarter), A3 (quarter), G3 (quarter), F#3 (quarter).

**System 2:**

- Supranus: G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), B4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), G4 (quarter), F#4 (quarter).
- 2dus Supranus: G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), B4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), G4 (quarter), F#4 (quarter).
- Contratenor bassus: G3 (quarter), A3 (quarter), B3 (quarter), C4 (quarter), B3 (quarter), A3 (quarter), G3 (quarter), F#3 (quarter).

**System 3:**

- Supranus: G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), B4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), G4 (quarter), F#4 (quarter).
- 2dus Supranus: G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), B4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), G4 (quarter), F#4 (quarter).
- Contratenor bassus: G3 (quarter), A3 (quarter), B3 (quarter), C4 (quarter), B3 (quarter), A3 (quarter), G3 (quarter), F#3 (quarter).

We may also glance for a moment at two short examples given by Guilelmus in concluding a series in which he may be thought to have exhausted the possibilities of *faulx bourdon*. The first is a complete specimen of the parallel progression already referred to, in which the cantus, in the upper voice, is written a tenth above the tenor, and the contratenor a fifth below the cantus, all moving in a parallel course throughout; and by this means a very curious effect, not altogether disagreeable, is produced. In the second example a contratenor bassus proceeds in tenths below the cantus throughout until the close, the middle part being a tenor, holding long notes.

## GYMEL FORM.

(In Tenths.)

Coussemaker, *Scriptores*, &c., vol. iii. 297.

Guilelmus Monachus.

Cantus.

Contratenor.

Tenor.

&c.

&c.

Cantus.

Tenor.

Contratenor bassus.

It is evident that the historical importance of this treatise is considerable, but unfortunately the uncertainty which exists at present with respect to its date renders impossible any definite estimate of its value. It is interesting, for instance, to know from this work that an elaborate treatment of *faulx bourdon* once prevailed in this country, but the information would gain in value from an exact statement with respect to the period during which the method was cultivated ; and the date of the MS., if it could be discovered, would direct us to this. It should, however, be said that the year 1400, or thereabouts, has been suggested by M. de Coussemaker, and this date, if it could be proved correct, would not be unsuitable to our own impressions with regard to the period of the greatest popularity of the florid *faulx bourdon*<sup>1</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> Valentinelli, in his work on the MSS. of the *Marciana*, gives a merely general date for this Codex—' Saec. xv,' but Mr. Horatio Brown, of Venice, who has kindly examined it at the request of the present writer, is more explicit, pronouncing it to be of the first half of the century, or certainly not later than 1460.

moreover, in another respect it would confer great distinction upon the MS., which might then be said to contain certainly the first hint of the remarkable invention of a voice below the tenor, moving with it in alternate thirds and fifths, an invention which not only from the first contributed to the establishment of the idea of harmonic propriety as the result of contrapuntal progression, but also, gradually taking shape as a true bass, finally opened the way beyond question to Harmony itself.

Only one other original account of English *faulx bourdon* is known to exist. This, which we have already mentioned in passing, is to be found in a small compendium of the method, forming part of a MS., now in the British Museum, and marked Lansdowne 763, which formerly belonged to Tallis, and afterwards to Morley. The treatises in this MS. are so arranged that it is difficult to say whether the authorship of the account of *faulx bourdon* should be ascribed to one Chilston or to the better known Leonel Power; in either case, however, the date would be the same, that is, about 1430. It is, perhaps, not necessary to describe this account fully, since it has been already more than once printed entire, but it may be said that the *faulx bourdon* which the author indicates is to be written or imagined a third above the plain-song, and transposed, in performance, an octave lower, or in other words to a sixth below the plainsong; the voices are to take perfect concords at the beginning and end of sentences, and are to break a few notes in syncopation in closing. This is practically all. The author makes no reference to the methods of Guilelmus, nor indeed to any means of further enrichment or variety, and does not even mention *gymel* by its name. How are we to account for this silence? Scarcely upon the ground of ignorance, for if the rules described in the work of Guilelmus are, as we have supposed, representative of actual English methods of singing *supra librum*, and are not the imaginations of an individual, they must have been well known to the author of the

compendium. The extreme brevity of the little work may perhaps be thought to explain its omissions ; or, on the other hand, it may be that the popularity of *faulx bourdon* was already at this time waning, and that discantors, having exhausted its capabilities as a musical means, were now passing from it, and meanwhile employing only its most restricted forms. That it was entirely neglected and forsaken in this country long before 1600 is certain, for Morley refers to it as to a thing belonging altogether to the past, and his short account of it is evidently taken directly from this MS., then probably in his possession.





## APPENDIX

(See page 270)

DE GARLANDE's date is 1190-1240. A search through a dozen writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (whose dates are given in the list of authors at the end of Riemann's *Geschichte der Musiktheorie*, 1898) reveals little about *Musica ficta*, which is the subject of De Garlande's rules with regard to the 'Error tertii soni'. He was an Englishman brought up in Paris. He is here discussing the *Triplum* (the third voice added to the *Cantus* and *Discantus*); and he shows, in so doing, his familiarity with the English 'Treble-sight'. The 'error of the third sound' is one of half a dozen questions that arise in connexion with three- and four-part writing. Below is his complete text, with Mr. Wooldridge's translation to the left and a revised translation to the right. The examples are on pp. 271-2.

### *de Garlande*

Error of the third sound occurs when we improve the relations of sounds that go badly together. We know it by four rules, of which the first is thus :	Error tertii soni, quando ordinamus sonos male convenientes. Quod per quatuor regulas cognoscimus, quarum prima talis est :	'Error of the third sound' is [the technical name for] setting right discrepant sounds. There are four rules.
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#### *First rule.*

When we ascend through whole tones, and afterwards coming to a semitone this is changed to a tone and the final tone to a semitone. Which is accomplished by means of the synemmenôn. <sup>1</sup>	Quotiens ascendimus per tonos integros, et, postea jungendo semitonium, in tonum convertitur, et ultimus tonus in semitonium. Quod fit mediante synemenon. [Ex.]	In an ascent by [three] whole tones both the semitone, which would come next, becomes a tone, and the last tone [of the three] a semitone (by synemenon).
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#### *Second rule.*

If we descend a tone and again ascend by the same interval, then in like manner, by synemmenôn, the subtraction of the semitone from the tone should be made.	Alia regula de eodem est hic : si descendimus tonum et tertium tonum ascendimus, ibi similiter per synemenon fiet subtractio toni vel soni. [Ex.]	If we fall a tone and then rise by [what is really] the third tone, then, as before, the tone or [more properly] the sound will become a semitone by synemenon.
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<sup>1</sup> The author's explanation of this, postulating a 'transition of ideas', is on p. 273.

*Third rule.*

Whenever we ascend and descend again, the ascending interval should be augmented. And this may be done sometimes by synemenon, sometimes not, as here :

Alia regula de eodem : quotiens ascendimus et iterum descendimus, ascensus largiatur. Et hoc fit aliquotiens per synemenon, aliquotiens autem non, ut hic : [Ex.]

Whenever ascent is followed by descent, it is the ascent which has to forgo [the semitone]. And it does this sometimes by means of the synemenon, sometimes not, as here :

*Fourth rule.*

With a series of conjunct sounds, occurring most naturally upon the close, the series may conclude either after the semitone or may continue till after the tone ; in either case the last note is diminished.

Quarta regula est : continuatio sonorum, si post semitonium fit vel tonus, et conveniens fit super quietem, penultima proportio minuitur, sive fuerit semitonium, vel tonus : [Ex.]

[If] a series of [diatonic] sounds occurs, whether it has ended with a tone or a semitone — and it comes [most] suitably at a close — it will have a semitone for its last interval but one, whether that was originally tone or semitone.

These rules are observed in plainsong, but are sometimes restricted in their application to discant, on account of the nature of the consonances employed in that kind of composition ; for the skilful singer ought to shape his melody with regard to that of the more important part, making his note flat or sharp according as it may be the better framed to concord, as well as the circumstances will allow, and keeping in mind the rules given above.

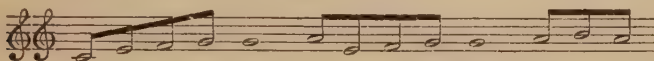
Iste regula tenentur in cantu plano, sed aliquotiens restringuntur in discantu propter habitudinem concordantie ipsius discantus ; quia subtilis debet cantum suum conformare respectu superioris cantus, vel inclinare vel acuere, ut melius conformetur concordantie, in quantum poterit, supradictas regulas observando.

These rules hold in plainsong but are sometimes relaxed in discant, to suit the nature of the harmonies this requires. For fine discant ought to accommodate its melody to that of the original voice, raising or lowering it, so as to conform to the harmony as far as may be, in obedience to the rules here given.

Let us take the *second rule* first. ‘Subtractio toni’ means ‘the removal of the tone’ ; but since what is to be removed is not a tone

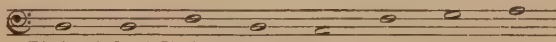
but a semitone, he adds 'vel soni' (i.e. 'tone, or perhaps I ought to say sound'). Hence his title, 'Error tertii soni' (not 'toni'). 'Tertium' is important; the whole point of his rules is to tell us when to use the tritone and when the synemenon (perfect fourth). Hence the 'third' tone must mean the third of the tritone. The implied tritone in his example is from B $\natural$  down to F $\sharp$ , and he is telling us to make F into F $\sharp$ .

Going back to *rule 1*. We find that the example is given in Cousse-maker (i. 115) thus :



i.e. it begins not with D but with C. There are two places where the tritone could be implied, C-F $\sharp$  and F $\sharp$ -B $\natural$ . De Garlande is concerned only with the former. He tells us that the first F is to be natural and leaves us to see that the B will be flat. He says that EF is a semitone and FG a tone, and that this is done 'by synemenon', i.e. that C-F is a perfect fourth.

*Rule 3* is difficult for two reasons. First, the example is too short for us to be able to judge on musical grounds what he means. I have failed to find 'Beata nobis gaudia', but in W. H. Frere's 'Hymn Melodies' (No. 42) is a hymn



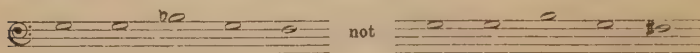
Im - ple - ta    gau - dent    vis - ce - ra

'Beata' and 'Impleta' are both Whitsuntide hymns, and one may be a cento from the other, and therefore sung to the same tune. In 'Impleta' it is, of course, inconceivable that the F should be sharp, and it is, therefore, probably natural in 'Beata'.

The other difficulty is 'largiatur'. In classical Latin *largiri* requires a dative of the person to whom the thing is 'granted', or in whose favour it is 'resigned'; but no absolute use is given in the sense of 'forgo'. That does not seem, however, an unlikely meaning for monkish Latin to have adopted, though I have not found another instance. At any rate, it never meant 'augment'; and though an active form is known, no instance is given of *largire* being used in the passive.

The example makes it clear that by 'ascent followed by descent' he means ascent from a given note and subsequent descent *from that*

*note.* The example he gives of this is one where the result he advocates is *not* reached by synemenon, and we are left to apply his rule to cases where it would be so reached. If, for instance, the example had begun on G, instead of D, we are to imagine that he prescribes



With his *fourth rule* De Garlande turns from the question of the synemenon (that is, of the terminal notes of the tetrachord) to its interior notes. He tells us that a final sequence of four diatonic notes is to be altered, if necessary, so that the semitone shall come in the last place but one. This is a direct prohibition of the leading-note, which was forcing its way into one mode after another. He instances the Dorian close, and says explicitly, 'Don't put C#'. When he says, at the end, that this rule among others 'holds in plainsong but is broken in discant', he could hardly assert more clearly that the leading-note is the child not of melody but of harmony, and that he allowed it only on sufferance.

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PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD  
BY JOHN JOHNSON, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY













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